

MILTON'S
PARADISE LOST.

BOOKS VII. AND VIII.

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PARADISE LOST

BOOKS VII. AND VIII.

*WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, GLOSSARY
AND INDEXES*

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NOTE.

MANY of the Scriptural and classical quotations and references given in the *Notes* have been pointed out by previous editors.

I have to thank a friend for the *Index*.

A. W. V.

BOURNEMOUTH,

December, 1894.

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INTRODUCTION.

LIFE OF MILTON.

MILTON'S life falls into three clearly defined divisions. The first period ends with the poet's return from Italy in 1639; the second at the Restoration in 1660, when release from the fetters of politics enabled him to remind the world that he was a great poet, if not a great controversialist; the third is brought to a close with his death in 1674. *Paradise Lost* belongs to the last of these periods; but we propose to summarise briefly the main events of all three.

John Milton was born on December 9, 1608, in London. He came, in his own words, *ex genere honesto*. A family of Miltons had been settled in Oxfordshire since the reign of Elizabeth. The poet's father had been educated at an Oxford school, possibly as a chorister in one of the College choir-schools, and imbibing Anglican sympathies had conformed to the Established Church. For this he was disinherited by his father. He settled in London, following the profession of scrivener. A scrivener combined the occupations of lawyer and law-stationer. It appears to have been a lucrative calling; certainly John Milton (the poet was named after the father) attained to easy circumstances. He married about 1600, and had six children, of whom several died young. The third child was the poet.

The elder Milton was evidently a man of considerable culture, in particular an accomplished musician, and a com-

*The three
periods in Mil-
ton's life.*

*Born 1608; the
poet's father.*

INTRODUCTION.

poser¹ whose madrigals were deemed worthy of being printed side by side with those of Byrd, Orlando Gibbons and other leading musicians of the time. To him, no doubt, the poet owed the love of music of which we see frequent indications in the poems². Realising, too, that in his son lay the promise and possibility of future greatness, John Milton took the utmost pains to have the boy adequately educated; and the lines *Ad Patrem* show that the ties of affection between father and child were of more than ordinary closeness.

Milton was sent to St Paul's School as a day scholar about the year 1620. He also had a tutor, Thomas *Early training.* Young, a Scotchman, who subsequently became Master of Jesus College, Cambridge. More important still, Milton grew up in the stimulating atmosphere of cultured home-life. This was a signal advantage. Most men do not realise that the word 'culture' signifies anything very definite or desirable before they pass to the University; for Milton, however, home-life meant, from the first, not only broad interests and refinement, but active encouragement towards literature and study. In 1625 he left St Paul's. He was not a precocious genius, a 'boy poet,' like Chatterton or Shelley. Of his extant English poems³ only one, *On the Death of a Fair Infant*, was written in his school-days. But his early training had done that which was all-important: it had laid the foundation of the far-ranging knowledge which makes *Paradise Lost* unique for diversity of suggestion and interest.

Milton entered at Christ's College, Cambridge, commencing residence in the Easter term of 1625. Seven years *At Cambridge.* were spent at the University. He took his B.A. degree in 1629, proceeded M.A. in 1632, and in the latter year

¹ See the article on him in Grove's *Dictionary of Music*.

² Milton was very fond of the organ; see *Il Penseroso*, 161, note. During his residence at Horton Milton made occasional journeys to London to hear, and obtain instruction in, music.

³ His paraphrases of *Psalms* cxiv, cxxxvi, scarcely come under this heading.

left Cambridge. His experience of University life had not been wholly fortunate. He was, and felt himself to be, out of sympathy with his surroundings; and whenever in after-years he spoke of Cambridge¹ it was with something of the grave *impictus* of Gibbon who, unsoftened even by memories of Magdalen, complained that the fourteen months spent at Oxford were the least profitable part of his life. Milton, in fact, anticipates the laments that we find in the correspondence of Gray, addressed sometimes to Richard West and reverberated from the banks of the Isis. It may, however, be fairly assumed that, whether consciously or not, Milton owed a good deal to his University; and it must not be forgotten that the uncomplimentary and oft-quoted allusions to Cambridge date for the most part from the unhappy period when Milton the politician and polemical dogmatist had effectually divorced himself at once from Milton the scholar and Milton the poet. A poet he had proved himself before leaving the University. The short but exquisite ode *At a Solemn Music*, and the *Nativity Hymn* (1629), were already written.

¹ That Milton's feeling towards the authorities of his own college was not entirely unfriendly would appear from the following sentences written in 1642. He takes, he says, the opportunity to "acknowledge publicly, with all grateful mind, that more than ordinary respect which I found, above many of my equals, at the hands of those courteous and learned men, the Fellows of that college wherein I spent some years; who, at my parting after I had taken two degrees, as the manner is, signified many ways how much better it would content them that I would stay; as by many letters full of kindness and loving respect, both before that time and long after, I was assured of their singular good affection towards me."—*Apology for Smectymnus*, P. II. III. 311. Perhaps it would have been better for Milton had he been sent to Emmanuel College, long a stronghold of Puritanism. Dr John Preston, the master of the college at that time, was a noted leader of the Puritan party. (Throughout this *Introduction* Milton's prose-works, in Bohn's edition, are referred to under the abbreviation P. II.)

Milton's father had settled¹ at Horton in Buckinghamshire. Thither the son retired in July, 1632. He had gone to Cambridge with the intention of qualifying for some profession, perhaps the Church². This purpose was soon given up, and when Milton returned to his father's house he seems to have made up his mind that there was no profession which he cared to enter. He would choose the better part of studying and preparing himself, by rigorous self-discipline and application, for the far-off divine event to which his whole life moved.

It was Milton's constant resolve to achieve something that should vindicate the ways of God to men, something great³ that should justify his own possession of unique powers—powers of which, with no trace of egotism, he proclaims himself proudly conscious. The feeling finds repeated expression in his prose; it is the guiding-star that shines clear and steadfast even through the mists of politics. He has a mission to fulfil, a purpose to accomplish, no less

¹ As tenant of the Earl of Bridgewater, according to one account; but probably the tradition arose from Milton's subsequent connection with the Bridgewater family.

² Cf. Milton's own words, "The Church, to whose service by the intention of my parents and friends I was destined of a child, and in my own resolutions." What kept him from taking orders was not, at first, any difference of belief, but solely his objection to Church discipline and government. "Coming to some maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded the church, that he who would take orders must subscribe slave.....(I) thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing."—*Reason of Church Government*, P. W. II. 482. Milton disliked in particular the episcopal system, and spoke of himself as "Church-outed by the prelates."

³ Cf. the second sonnet; "How soon hath Time." Ten years later (1641) Milton speaks of the "inward prompting which grew daily upon me, that by labour and intent study, which I take to be my portion in this life, joined with the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to aftertimes, as they should not willingly let it die."—*Reason of Church Government*, P. W. II. 477, 478.

than the most fanatic of religious enthusiasts : and the means whereby this end is to be attained are fourfold : devotion to learning, devotion to religion, ascetic purity of life, and the pursuit of *σπουδαίτης* or "excellent seriousness" of thought.

This period of self-centred isolation lasted from 1632 to 1638. Gibbon tells us among the many wise things contained in that most wise book the *Autobiography*, that every man has two educations : that which he receives from his teachers and that which he owes to himself ; the latter being infinitely the more important. During these five years Milton completed his second education : ranging the whole world of classical¹ antiquity and absorbing the classical genius so thoroughly that the ancients were to him what they afterwards became to Landor, what they have never become to any other English poet in the same degree, even as the very breath of his being ; learning, too, all of art, especially music, that contemporary England could furnish ; wresting from modern literatures² (especially Italian) their last secrets ; and combining these vast and diverse influences into a splendid equipment of hard-won, well-ordered culture. The world has known many greater scholars in the technical, limited sense than Milton, but few men, if any, who have mastered more things worth mastering in art, letters and scholarship³. It says much for the poet that he was sustained through this period of study, pursued *ohne Hast, ohne Rast*, by the full consciousness that all would be crowned by a masterpiece which should add one more testimony to the belief in that God who ordains the fates of men. It says also a very great deal for the father who suffered his son to follow in this manner the path of learning⁴.

True, Milton gave more than one earnest of his future fame. The dates of the early pieces—*L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*, *Arcades*, *Comus* and *Lycidas*—are not all certain; but probably each was composed at Horton before 1638. We have spoken of them elsewhere. Here we may note that four of them have great autobiographic value as an indirect commentary, written from Milton's coign of seclusion, upon the moral crisis through which English life and thought were passing, the clash between the careless hedonism of the Cavalier world and the deepening austerity of Puritanism. In *L'Allegro* the poet holds the balance almost equal between the two opposing tendencies. In *Il Penseroso* it becomes clear to which side his sympathies are leaning. *Comus* is a covert prophecy of the downfall of the Court-party, while *Lycidas* openly "foretells the ruine" of the Established Church. The latter poem is the final utterance of Milton's lyric genius. Here he reaches, in Mr Mark Pattison's words, the high-water mark of English verse; and then—the pity of it—he resigns that place among the *lyrici vates* of which the Roman singer was ambitious, and for nearly twenty years suffers his lyre to hang mute and rusty in the temple of the Muses.

The composition of *Lycidas* may be assigned to the year 1637. In the spring of the next year Milton started for Italy. He had long made himself a master of Italian, and it was natural that he should seek inspiration in the land where many English poets, from Chaucer to Shelley, have found it. Milton remained abroad some fifteen months. Originally he had intended to include Sicily and Greece in his travels, but news of the troubles in England hastened his return. He was brought face to face with the question whether or not he should bear his part in the coming struggle; whether without self-reproach he could lead any longer this life of learning and indifference to the public weal. He decided as we might have expected that he would decide, though some good critics see cause to regret the decision. Milton puts his

Travels in Italy; close of the first period in his life.

Cause of his return to England.

position very clearly. "I considered it," he says, "dishonourable to be enjoying myself at my ease in foreign lands, while my countrymen were striking a blow for freedom." And again: "Perceiving that the true way to liberty followed on from these beginnings, inasmuch also as I had so prepared myself from my youth that, above all things, I could not be ignorant what is of Divine and what of human right, I resolved, though I was then meditating certain other matters, to transfer into this struggle all my genius and all the strength of my industry."

The summer of 1639 (July) found Milton back in England. Immediately after his return he wrote the *Epitaphium Damonis*, the beautiful elegy in which he lamented the death of his school friend, Diodati.

Lycidas was the last of the English lyrics: the *Epitaphium*, which should be studied in close connection with *Lycidas*, the last of the long Latin poems. Thenceforth, for a long spell, the rest was silence, so far as concerned poetry. The period which for all men represents the strength and maturity of manhood, which in the cases of other poets produces the best and most characteristic work, is with Milton a blank. In twenty years he composed no more than a bare handful of Sonnets, and even some of these are infected by the taint of political *animus*. Other interests¹ filled his thoughts—the question of Church-reform, education, marriage, and, above all, politics.

Milton's first treatise upon the government of the Established Church (*Of Reformation touching Church-Discipline in England*) appeared in 1641. Others followed in quick succession. The abolition of Episcopacy was the watch-word of the enemies of the Anglican Church—the *delenda est Carthago* cry of Puritanism, and no one enforced the point with greater eloquence than Milton. During 1641 and 1642 he wrote five pamphlets on the subject. Meanwhile he was studying the principles of education. On his return from Italy he had undertaken the training of his nephews.

¹ Milton seems to have cherished some hope of beginning a great poem as late as 1641—2; probably the latter year marked his final surrender of the scheme.

The second period, 1640—1660. Milton abandons poetry.

Pamphlets on the Church and Education.

This led to consideration of the best educational methods; and in the *Tractate of Education*, 1644, Milton assumed the part of educational theorist. In the previous year, May, 1643, he married¹. The marriage proved unfortunate. Its immediate outcome was the pamphlets on Divorce. Clearly he had little leisure for literature proper.

The finest of Milton's prose works, the *Areopagitica*, a plea for the free expression of opinion, was published in 1644. In 1645² he edited the first collection of his poems. In 1649 his advocacy of the anti-royalist cause was recognised by the offer of a post under the newly appointed Council of State. His bold vindication of the trial of Charles I., *The Tenure of Kings*, had appeared

¹ His wife (who was only seventeen) was Mary Powell, eldest daughter of Richard Powell, of Forest Hill, a village some little distance from Oxford. She went to stay with her father in July 1643, and refused to return to Milton; why, it is not certain. She was reconciled to her husband in 1645, bore him four children, and died in 1652, in her twenty-seventh year. No doubt, the scene in *P. L.* x. 909—936, in which Eve begs forgiveness of Adam, reproduced the poet's personal experience, while many passages in *Samson Agonistes* must have been inspired by the same cause.

² i.e. old style. The volume was entered on the registers of the Stationers' Company under the date of October 6th, 1645. It was published on Jan. 2, 1645—6, with the following title page:

"*Poems of Mr. John Milton, both English and Latin, compos'd at several times. Printed by his true Copies. The Songs were set in Musick by Mr. Henry Lawes, gentleman of the King's Chappell, and one of His Majesties private Musick.*

—————*Baccare frontem*

Cingile, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro. VIRG. *Ecl.* 7.

Printed and publish'd according to Order. London, Printed by Ruth Raworth, for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at the signe of the Princes Arms in Pauls Churchyard. 1645."

From the prefatory Address to the Reader it is clear that the collection was due to the initiative of the publisher. Milton's own feeling is expressed by the motto, where the words "*vati futuro*" show that, as

earlier in the same year. Milton accepted the offer, becoming Latin¹ Secretary to the Committee of Foreign Affairs. There was nothing distasteful about his duties. He drew up the despatches to foreign governments, translated state-papers, and served as interpreter to foreign envoys. Had his duties stopped here his acceptance of the post would, I think, have proved an unqualified gain. It brought him into contact with the first men in the state², gave him a practical insight *The advantage of the post* into the working of national affairs and the motives of human action; in a word, furnished him with that experience of life which is essential to all poets who aspire to be something more than "the idle singers of an empty day" But unfortunately the secretaryship entailed the necessity of *Its disadvantage.* defending at every turn the past course of the revolution and the present policy of the Council. Milton, in fact, held a perpetual brief as advocate for his party. Hence the endless and unedifying controversies into which he drifted; controversies which wasted the most precious years of his life, warped, as some critics think, his nature, and eventually cost him his eyesight.

Between 1649 and 1660 Milton produced no less than eleven pamphlets. Several of these arose out of the publication of the famous *Fikon Basilike*. The book *Milton's writings on behalf of the Commonwealth.* was printed in 1649 and created so extraordinary a

he judged, his great achievement was yet to come. The volume was divided into two parts, the first containing the English, the second the Latin poems. *Comus* was printed at the close of the former, with a separate title-page to mark its importance.

¹ A Latin Secretary was required because the Council scorned, as Edward Phillips says, "to carry on their affairs in the wheedling, lisping jargon of the cringing French." Milton's salary was £288, in modern money about £900.

² There is no proof that Milton ever had personal intercourse with Cromwell, and Mr Mark Pattison implies that he was altogether neglected by the foremost men of the time. Yet it seems unlikely that the Secretary of the Committee should not have been on friendly terms with some of its members, Vane, for example, and Whitelocke.

sensation that Milton was asked to reply to it. This he did with *Eikonoklastes*, introducing the wholly unworthy sneer at Sidney's *Arcadia* and the awkwardly expressed reference to Shakespeare¹. Controversy of this barren type has the inherent disadvantage that once started it may never end. The Royalists commissioned the Leyden professor, Salmasius, to prepare a counterblast, the *Defensio Regia*, and this in turn was met by Milton's *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*, 1651.

over the preparation of which he lost what little *His blindness.* power of eyesight remained². Salmasius retorted, and died before his second *farrago* of scurrilities was issued: Milton was bound to answer, and the *Defensio Secunda* appeared in 1654. Neither of the combatants gained anything by the dispute; while the subsequent development of the

¹ See *L'Allegro*, 133, note. It would have been more to the point to remind his readers that the imprisoned king must have spent a good many hours over La Calprenède's *Cassandre*.

² Perhaps this was the saddest part of the episode. Milton tells us in the *Defensio Secunda* that his eyesight was injured by excessive study in boyhood: "from the twelfth year of my age I scarce ever left my lessons and went to bed before midnight. This was the first cause of my blindness." Continual reading and writing must have increased the infirmity, and by 1650 the sight of the left eye had gone. He was warned that he must not use the other for book-work. Unfortunately this was just the time when the Commonwealth stood most in need of his services. If Milton had not written the first *Defence* he might have retained his partial vision. The choice lay between private good and public duty. He repeated in 1650 the sacrifice of 1639. "In such a case I could not listen to the physician, not if Æsculapius himself had spoken from his sanctuary; I could not but obey that inward monitor, I know not what, that spoke to me from heaven.....I concluded to employ the little remaining eyesight I was to enjoy in doing this, the greatest service to the common weal it was in my power to render" (*Second Defence*). By the Spring of 1652 Milton was quite blind. He was then in his forty-fourth year. Probably the disease from which he suffered was amaurosis. See the *Appendix* (pp. 120, 121) on *P. L.* III. 22—26. Throughout *P. L.* and *Samson Agonistes* there are frequent references to his affliction.

controversy in which Milton crushed the Amsterdam pastor and professor, Morus, goes far to prove the contention of Mr Mark Pattison, that it was an evil day when the poet left his study at Horton to do battle for the Commonwealth amid the vulgar brawls of the market-place :

“Not here, O Apollo,

Were haunts meet for thee.”

Fortunately this poetic interregnum in Milton's life was not destined to last much longer. The Restoration came, a blessing in disguise, and in 1660¹ the ruin of Milton's political² party and of his personal hopes, the absolute overthrow of the cause for which he had fought for twenty years, left him free. The author of *Lycidas* could once more become a poet.

The Restoration releases Milton from politics. Return to poetry.

Much has been written upon this second period, 1639—1660, and a word may be said here. We saw what parting of the ways confronted Milton on his return from Italy. Did he choose aright? Should

Should Milton have kept apart from political life?

he have continued upon the path of learned leisure? There are writers who argue that Milton made a mistake. A poet, they say, should keep clear of political strife: fierce controversy can benefit no man: who touches pitch must expect to be, certainly will be, defiled: Milton sacrificed twenty of the best years of his life, doing work which an underling could have done and which was not worth doing: another *Comus* might have been written, a loftier *Lycidas*: that literature should be the poorer by the absence of these possible masterpieces, that the second greatest genius which England has produced should in a way be the “inheritor of unfulfilled renown,” is and must be a thing entirely and terribly deplorable. This is the view of the purely literary critic. Mr Mark Pattison writes very much to this effect.

(One reply to this question.)

¹ The date 1660 must not be pressed too closely. As a matter of strict detail, Milton probably began *Paradise Lost* in 1658; but it was not till the Restoration in 1660 that he definitely resigned all his political hopes, and became quite free to realise his poetical ambition.

² The changes in his political views cannot be traced here.

There remains the other side of the question. It may fairly be contended that had Milton elected in 1639 to live the scholar's life apart from "the action of men," *Paradise Lost*, as we have it, could never have been written¹. Knowledge of life and human nature, insight into the problems of men's motives and emotions, grasp of the broader issues of the human tragedy, all these were essential to the author of an epic poem; they could only be obtained through commerce with the world; they would have remained beyond the reach of a recluse. Dryden complained that Milton saw nature through the spectacles of books: we might have had to complain that he saw men through the same medium. Fortunately it is not so: and it is not so because at the age of thirty-two he threw in his fortunes with those of his country; like the diver in Schiller's ballad he took the plunge which was to cost him so dear. The mere man of letters will never move the world. Æschylus fought at Marathon: Shakespeare was practical to the tips of his fingers; a better business man than Goethe there was not within a radius of a hundred miles of Weimar.

This aspect of the question is emphasised by Milton himself. The man, he says, "who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hercafter in laudable things, ought himself to be a true poem, that is, a composition and pattern of the best and honourablest things, *not² presuming to sing high praises of heroic men or famous cities, unless he have within himself the experience and the practice of all that which is praiseworthy.*" Again, in estimating the qualifications which the writer of an epic such as he contemplated should possess, he is careful to include "insight into all seemly and generous arts and *affairs*³."

Truth usually lies half-way between extremes: perhaps it does so here. No doubt, Milton did gain very greatly by breathing awhile the larger air of public life, even though that air was often tainted by

¹ This is true of *Samson Agonistes* too.

² The italics are mine.

³ *Reason of Church Government*, P. W. II. 481.

much impunity. No doubt, too, twenty years of contention must have left their mark even on Milton. In one of the very few places¹ where he "abides our question," Shakespeare writes:

O! for my sake do you with Fortune chide,
The guilty goddess of my harmful deeds,
That did not better for my life provide,
Than public means, which public manners breeds:
Thence comes it that my name receives a brand;
And almost thence my nature is subdu'd
To what it works in, like the dyer's hand.

Milton's genius was subdued in this way. If we compare him, the Milton of the great epics and of *Samson Agonistes*, with Homer or Shakespeare—and none but the greatest can be his parallel—we find in him a certain want of humanity, a touch of narrowness. He lacks the large-heartedness, the genial, generous breadth of Shakespeare; the sympathy and sense of the *lacrime rerum* that even in *Troilus and Cressida* or *Timon of Athens* are there for those who have eyes wherewith to see them. Milton reflects many of the less gracious aspects of Puritanism, its intolerance, want of humour, one-sided intensity. He is stern, unbending, austere, and it seems natural to assume that this narrowness was to a great extent the price he paid for twenty years of ceaseless special pleading and dispute. The real misfortune of his life lay in the fact that he fell on evil, angry days when there was no place for moderate men. He had to be one of two things: either a controversialist or a student: there was no *via media*. Probably he chose aright; but we could wish that the conditions under which he chose had been different.

The last part of Milton's life, 1660—1674, passed quietly. At the age of fifty-two he was thrown back upon poetry, and could at length discharge his self-imposed obligation. The early poems he had never regarded as a fulfilment of the debt due to his Creator.

From the Restoration to Milton's death.

¹ *Sonnet CXI.*

Even when the fire of political strife burned at its hottest, Milton did not forget the purpose which he had conceived in his boyhood. Of that purpose *Paradise Lost* was the attainment. We trace its history later on. At present it suffices to observe that the poem was begun about 1658; was finished in 1663, the year of Milton's third¹ marriage; revised from 1663 to 1665; and eventually issued in 1667. Before its publication Milton had commenced (in the autumn of 1665) its sequel *Paradise Regained*, which in turn was closely followed by *Samson Agonistes*. The completion of *Paradise Regained* may be assigned to the year 1666—that of *Samson Agonistes* to 1667. Some time was spent in their revision; and in January, 1671, they were published together, in a single volume.

In 1673 Milton brought out a reprint of the 1645 edition of his *Poems*, adding most of the sonnets² written in the interval. The last four years of his life were

¹ Milton's second marriage took place in the autumn of 1656, i.e. after he had become blind. His wife died in February, 1658. Cf. the *Sonnet*, "Methought I saw my late espoused saint," the pathos of which is heightened by the fact that he had never seen her.

² The number of Milton's sonnets is twenty-three (if we exclude the piece on "The New Forcers of Conscience"), five of which were written in Italian, probably during the time of his travels in Italy, 1638—9. Ten sonnets were printed in the edition of 1645, the last of them being that entitled (from the *Cambridge* ms.) "To the Lady Margaret Ley." The remaining thirteen were composed between 1645 and 1658. The concluding sonnet, therefore (to the memory of Milton's second wife), immediately preceded his commencement of *Paradise Lost*. Four of these poems (xv. xvi. xvii. xxii.) could not, on account of their political tone, be included in the edition of 1673. They were first published by Edward Phillips together with his memoir of Milton, 1694. The sonnet on the "Massacre in Piedmont" is usually considered the finest of the collection, of which the late Rector of Lincoln College edited a well-known edition, 1883. The sonnet inscribed with a diamond on a window pane in the cottage at Chalfont where the poet stayed in 1665 is (in the judgment of a good critic) Miltonic, if not Milton's (*Garnett's Life of Milton*, p. 175).

devoted to prose works of no particular interest to us¹. He continued to live in London. His third marriage had proved happy, and he enjoyed something of the renown which was rightly his. Various well-known men used to visit him—notably Dryden², who on one of his visits asked and received permission to dramatise³ *Paradise Lost*. It does not often happen that a university can point to two such poets among her living sons, each without rival in his generation.

Milton died in 1674, November 8th. He was buried in St Giles' Church, Cripplegate. When we think of him we have to think of a man who lived a life of very *His death.* singular purity and devotion to duty; who for what he conceived to be his country's good sacrificed—and no one can well estimate the sacrifice—during twenty years the aim that was nearest to his heart and best suited to his genius; who, however, eventually realised his desire of writing a great work *in gloriam Dei*.

¹ The treatise on *Christian Doctrine* is valuable as throwing much light on the theological views expressed in the two epic poems and *Samson Agonistes*. The discovery of the ms. of this treatise in 1823 gave Macaulay an opportunity of writing his famous essay on Milton.

² The lines by Dryden which were printed beneath the portrait of Milton in Tonson's folio edition of *Paradise Lost* published in 1688 are too familiar to need quotation; but it is worth noting that the younger poet had in Milton's lifetime described the great epic as "one of the most noble, and most sublime poems which either this age or nation has produced" (prefatory essay to *The State of Innocence*, 1674). Further, tradition assigned to Dryden (a Roman Catholic and a Royalist) the remark, "this fellow (Milton) cuts us all out and the ancients too."

³ See Marvell's "Commendatory Verses" 17—30, and the *Notes*, pp. 72, 73.

PARADISE LOST.

We have observed that the dominating idea of Milton's life was his resolve to write a great poem—great in theme, in style, in attainment. To this purpose was he dedicated as a boy: as Hannibal was dedicated, at the altar of patriotism, to the cause of his country's revenge, or Pitt to a life of political ambition. Milton's works—particularly his letters and prose pamphlets—enable us to trace the growth of the idea which was shaping his intellectual destinies; and as every poet is best interpreted by his own words, Milton shall speak for himself.

Two of the earliest indications of his cherished plan are the *Vacation Exercise* and the second *Sonnet*. The *Exercise* commences with an invocation (not without significance, as we shall see) to his "native language," to assist him in giving utterance to the teeming thoughts that knock at the portal of his lips, fain to find an issue thence. The bent of these thoughts is towards the loftiest themes. Might he choose for himself, he would select some "grave subject:"

Early indications of Milton's resolve to compose a great work.

"Such where the deep transported mind may soar
Above the wheeling poles, and at Heaven's door
Look in, and see each blissful deity.

.
Then sing of secret things that came to pass
While beldam Nature in her cradle was."

But recognising soon that such matters are inappropriate to the occasion—a College festivity—he arrests the flight of his muse with a humorous *descende celo*, and declines on a lower range of subject, more fitting to the social scene and the audience. This *Exercise* was composed in 1628, in Milton's twentieth year, or, according to his method of dating, *anno aetatis xix*. It is important as revealing—firstly, the poet's consciousness of the divine impulse within, for which poetry is the natural outlet;

secondly, the elevation of theme with which that poetry must deal. A boy in years, he would like to handle the highest 'arguments,' challenging thereby comparison with the *sacri vates* of inspired verse, the elect few whose poetic appeal is to the whole world. A vision of Heaven itself must be unrolled before his steadfast eagle-gaze: he will win a knowledge of the causes of things such as even Vergil, his master, modestly disclaimed. Little wonder, therefore, that, filled with these ambitions, Milton did not shrink, only two years later (1629—30), from attempting to sound the deepest mysteries of Christianity—the Nativity and the Passion of Christ; howbeit, sensible of his immaturity, he left his poem on the latter subject unfinished¹.

The *Sonnet* to which reference has been made deserves quotation at length:

"How soon hath Time, the subtle thief of youth,
 Stolen on his wing my three-and-twentieth year!
 My hasting days fly on with full career,
 But my late spring no bud or blossom sheweth.
 Perhaps my semblance might deceive the truth
 That I to manhood am arrived so near;
 And inward ripeness doth much less appear,
 That some more timely-happy spirits endueth.
 Yet, be it less or more, or soon or slow,
 It shall be still in strictest measure even
 To that same lot, however mean or high,
 Toward which Time leads me, and the will of Heaven;
 All is, if I have grace to use it so,
 As ever in my great Task-Master's eye."

¹ A passage in the sixth *Elegy* shows that the *Nativity Ode* (see Pitt Rivers ed. pp. xxiv, xxv) was begun on Christmas morning, 1629. *The Passion* may have been composed for the following Easter; it breaks off with the notice—"This subject the Author finding to be above the years he had when he wrote it, and nothing satisfied with what was begun, left it unfinished." Evidently Milton was minded to recur to both subjects; the list of schemes in the Trinity MS. has the entries "Christ born, Christ bound, Christ crucified."

Mr Mark Pattison justly calls these lines "an inseparable part of Milton's biography": they bring out so clearly the poet's solemn devotion to his self-selected task, and his determination not to essay the execution of that task until the time of complete "inward ripeness" has arrived. The *Sonnet* was one of the last poems composed by Milton during his residence at Cambridge. The date is 1631. From 1632 to 1638 was a period of almost unbroken self-preparation, such as the *Sonnet* foreshadows. Of the intensity of his application to literature a letter written in 1637 (the exact day being Sept. 7, 1637) enables us to judge.

Self-preparation for his project; shown in his letters.

"It is my way," he says to Carlo Diodati, in excuse for remissness as a correspondent, "to suffer no impediment, no love of ease, no avocation whatever, to chill the ardour, to break the continuity, or divert the completion of my literary pursuits. From this and no other reasons it often happens that I do not readily employ my pen in any gratuitous exertions¹." But these exertions were not sufficient: the probation must last longer. In the same month, on the 23rd, he writes to the same friend, who had made enquiry as to his occupations and plans: "I am sure that you wish me to gratify your curiosity, and to let you know what I have been doing, or am meditating to do. Hear me, my Diodati, and suffer me for a moment to speak, without blushing, in a more lofty strain. Do you ask what I am meditating? By the help of Heaven, an immortality of fame. But what am I doing? *πρεποφνῶ*, I am letting my wings grow and preparing to fly; but my Pegasus has not yet feathers enough to soar aloft in the fields of air²." Four years later we find a similar admission—"I have not yet completed to my mind the full circle of my private studies³."

Encouraged by friends in Italy and at home.

This last sentence was written in 1640 (or 1641). Meanwhile his resolution had been confirmed by the friendly and flattering encouragement of

¹ *P. W.* III. 492.

² *P. W.* III. 495.

³ *P. W.* II. 476.

Italian *savants*—a stimulus which he records in an oft-cited passage¹:

"In the private academies² of Italy, whither I was favoured to resort, perceiving that some trifles³ which I had in memory, composed at under twenty or thereabout, (for the manner is, that every one must give some proof of his wit and reading there,) met with acceptance above what was looked for; and other things⁴, which I had shifted in scarcity of books and conveniences to patch up among them, were received with written encomiums, which the Italian is not forward to bestow on men of this side of the Alps; I began thus far to assent both to them and divers of my friends here at home, and not less to an inward prompting which now grew daily upon me, that by labour and intense study (which I take to be my portion in this life) joined with the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to aftertimes, as they should not willingly let it die."

It was during this Italian journey (1638—39) that Milton first gave a hint of the particular direction in which this ambition was setting: at least we are vouchsafed a glimpse of the possible subject-matter of the contemplated poem, and there is that on which may be built conjecture as to its style. He had enjoyed at Naples the hospitality of the then famous writer Giovanni Battista Manso, whose courteous reception the young English traveller, *ut ne ingratum se ostenderet*, acknowledged in

*First choice of
a subject: the
Arthurian legend,
date 1638
—1639.*

¹ *Church Government*, P. W. II. 477, 478; a few lines have been quoted in the *Life* of Milton.

² He refers to literary societies or clubs, of which there were several at Florence, e.g. the Della Crusca, the Svogliati, etc.

³ i.e. Latin pieces, the *Elegies*, as well as some of the poems included in his *Sylvarum*, were written before he was twenty-one.

⁴ Among the Latin poems which date from his Italian journey are the lines *Ad Salsillum*, a few of the *Epigrams*, and *Mansus*. Perhaps, too, the "other things" comprehended those essays in Italian verse which he had the courage to read before a Florentine audience—and they the indulgence to praise.

the piece of Latin hexameters afterwards printed in his *Sylvæ* under the title *Mansus*. In the course of the poem Milton definitely speaks of the remote legends of British history—more especially, the Arthurian legend—as the theme which he might some day treat. “May I,” he says, “find such a friend¹ as Manso,”

*Siquando² indigenas revocabo in carmina reges,
Arturumque etiam sub terris bella moventem,
Aut dicam invictæ sociali fœdere mense
Magnanimos Heroas, et—O modo spiritus adsit—
Frangam Saxonicas Britonum sub Marte phalanges!*

This was in 1638. In the next year, after his return to England, he recurs to the project in the *Epitaphium Damonis*, his account being far more detailed:

*Ipsæ³ ego Dardanias Rutupina per æquora puppes
Dicam, et Pandrasidos regnum vetus Inogeniæ,*

¹ i. e. a friend who would pay honour to him as Manso had paid honour to the poet Marini. Manso had helped in the erection of a monument to Marini at Naples; and Milton alludes to this at the beginning of the poem.

² “If ever I shall revive in verse our native kings, and Arthur levying war in the world below; or tell of the heroic company of the resistless Table Round, and—be the inspiration mine!—break the Saxon bands neath the might of British chivalry.”

³ “I will tell of the Trojan fleet sailing our southern seas, and the ancient realm of Imogen, Pandrasus’ daughter, and of Brennus, Arviragus, and Belinus old, and the Armoric settlers subject to British laws. Then will I sing of Iogerne, fatally pregnant with Arthur—how Uther feigned the features and assumed the armour of Gorlois, through Merlin’s craft. And you, my pastoral pipe, an life be lent me, shall hang on some sere pine, forgotten of me; or changed to native notes shall shrill forth British strains.” In the first lines he alludes to the legend of Brutus and the Trojans landing in England. *Rutupina* = Kentish. The story of Arthur’s birth at which he glances is referred to in the *Idylls of the King*. The general drift of the last verses is that he will give up Latin for English verse; *strides* is a future, from *strido* (cf. *Æneid* IV. 689).

*Brennumque Arviragumque duces, priscumque Beluum,
 Et tandem Armoricos Britonum sub lege colonos ;
 Tum gravidam Arturo fatali fraude Iogernen ;
 Mendaces vultus, assumptaque Gorlois arma,
 Merlini dolus. O, mihi tum si vita supersit,
 Tu procul annosa pendebris, fistula, pinu,
 Multum oblita mihi, aut patriis mutata Camænis
 Brittonicum strides.*

Here, as before, he first glances at the stories which date from the very dawn of British myth and romance, and then passes to the most fascinating of the later cycles of national legend—the grey traditions that cluster round the hero of the *Idylls of the King*, the son of mythic Uther. And this passage, albeit the subject which it indicates was afterwards rejected by Milton, possesses a twofold value for those who would follow, step by step, the development of the idea which had as its final issue the composition of *Paradise Lost*. For, first, the concluding verses show that whatever the theme

*The poem to
 be rewritten in
 English.*

of the poem, whatever the style, the instrument of expression would be English—that “native language” whose help Milton had petitioned in the *Vacation Exercise*. An illustration of his feeling on this point is furnished by the treatise on *Church Government*. He says there that his work must make for “the honour and instruction” of his country: “I applied myself to that resolution which Ariosto followed...to fix all the industry and all the art I could unite to the adorning of my native tongue...to be an interpreter and relater of the best and sagest things among mine own citizens throughout this island in the mother dialect. That what the greatest and choicest wits of Athens, Rome, or modern Italy, and those Hebrews of old did for their country, I, in my proportion, might do for mine¹.” Here is a clear announcement of

¹ *P. W.* II. 478. Reference has been made so frequently to this pamphlet on *The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty*, (1641), that it may be well to explain that the introduction to the second book is entirely autobiographical. Milton shows why he embarked on such controversies, how much it cost him to do so, what

his ambition to take rank as a great national poet. The note struck is patriotism. He will produce that which shall set English on a level with the more favoured Italian, and give his countrymen cause to be proud of their

“dear dear land,
Dear for her reputation through the world¹.”

To us indeed it may appear strange that Milton should have thought it worth while to emphasise what would now be considered a self-evident necessity: what modern poet, with a serious conception of his office and duty, would dream of employing any other language than his own? But we must remember that in those days the empire of the classics was unquestioned: scholarship was accorded a higher dignity than now: the composition of long poems in Latin was still a custom honoured in the observance: and whoso sought to appeal to the “laureate fraternity” of scholars and men of letters, independently of race and country, would naturally turn to the *lingua franca* of the learned. At any rate, the use of English—less known than either Italian or French—placed a poet at a great disadvantage, so far as concerned acceptance in foreign lands; and when Milton determined to rely on his

Milton abandons Latin verse. *patria Camæna*, he foresaw that this would circumscribe his audience, and that he would have to rest content with the applause of his own countrymen, nor ever, as he phrases it, “be once named abroad.” And there is some significance in the occasion when he made this declaration. Up till the publication of the *Epitaphium* his friends had known him—to the public he was not even a name—as the composer of a number of pieces of elegiacs not unworthy, at times, of Ovid, and of some almost Vergilian hexameters.

hopes he had of returning to poetry, what was his view of the poet's mission and of his own capacity to discharge that mission. His prose-works contain nothing more valuable than these ten pages of self-criticism.

¹ *Richard II.* II. 1. 57, 58.

Of his English poems only three¹ had been published—each anonymously. It might have been supposed that residence in Italy, the home of Latin scholarship, would incline him to continue to seek fame as a master of Latinity: yet, as if to dispel this impression, he announces straightway after his return that he intends to discard the rôle of mere scholar, and assume that of national poet.

Again, these lines in the *Epitaphium* give us some grounds of surmise as to the proposed form of his poem. The historic events—or traditions—epitomised in the passage were too far separated in point of time, and too devoid of internal coherence and connexion, to admit of dramatic treatment. Milton evidently contemplated a narrative poem, and for one who had drunk so deep of the classical spirit a narrative could scarce have meant aught else than an epic. Indeed thus much is implied by some sentences in the *Reason of Church Government*, which represent him as considering whether to attempt that “epic form whereof the two poems of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso are a model...or whether those dramatic constitutions, whercin Sophocles and Euripides reign, shall be found more doctrinal and exemplary to a nation².”

But ‘dramatic’ introduces a fresh phase; and as the first period of the history of *Paradise Lost*, or rather of the idea which finally took shape in that poem, closes with the *Epitaphium* (1639), it may not be

*His desire to
be regarded
as a national
poet.*

*The poem to
be an epic.*

*Summary of
impressions.*

¹ These were the lines on Shakespeare, unsigned and lost among the commendatory verses prefixed to the second Folio of Shakespeare, 1632; *Comus*, issued by his friend Henry Lawes in 1634, without any name on the title-page; and *Lycidas*, printed in a volume scarce likely to circulate outside Cambridge, and only signed with the initials ‘J. M.’. To these might be added a fourth piece in the *Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester*, could we verify the tradition mentioned by Warton that it was originally published in a Cambridge collection of Elegiac verse, about 1631. (I have discussed this point in the *Introduction* to *Lycidas*, pp. xl.—xli.)

² *P. W. II.* 478, 479.

amiss to summarise the impressions deduced up to this point from the various passages which we have quoted from Milton. We have seen, then, Milton's early resolve; its ambitious scope; his self-preparation; the encouragement he received in Italy and from friends at home; his announcement in 1638, repeated in 1639, that he has discovered a suitable subject in British fable—more especially, in the legend of the Coming and Passing of Arthur; his formal farewell to Latin verse, in favour of his native tongue; his desire to win recognition as a great national *vates*; and his selection of the epic style.

In respect of chronology we have reached the year 1639—1640. The second period extends from 1640 to 1642. I select these dates for this reason. We shall see that some verses of *Paradise Lost* were written about 1642: after 1642, up till 1658, we hear no more of the poem—proof that the idea has been temporarily abandoned under stress of politics. Therefore 1642 may be regarded as the ulterior limit of this second period. And it is not, I think, fanciful to consider that *Paradise Lost* entered on a fresh stage about 1640, because between that year and 1642 Milton's plans underwent a twofold change by which the character of the poem was entirely altered.

First, the subject for which he had shown so decided a bias is discarded: after 1639 no mention is made of King Arthur. We have no hint of the cause which led Milton to drop the subject; but I would venture to suggest that it lay in his increasing republicanism.

He could not have treated the theme from an unfavourable standpoint. The hero of the poem must have been for him, as for the Milton of our own century, a type of all kingly grandeur and worth; and it would have gone sore against the grain with the future apologist for regicide to exercise his powers in creating a royal figure that would shed lustre on monarchy, and in a measure plead for the institution which Milton detested so heartily¹. Only a Royalist could have retold the story, making it illustrate "the divine

*Second stage
in the evolution
of the poem,
1640—1642*

*Change of sub-
ject; Milton
rejects the Ar-
thurian le-
gend.*

*Possible expla-
nation of this.*

¹ See the notes on *P. L.* XII. 24, 36.

right of kings," and embodying in the character of the blameless monarch the Cavalier conception of Charles I. Be this as it may, Milton rejected the subject, and it finds no place in a list of one hundred possible subjects of his poem¹.

Secondly, from this period, 1640—1642, dates an alteration in the design of the contemplated work. Hitherto his tendency has been towards the epic form: now (1640 or 1641) we find him preferring the dramatic. Shall he imitate Sophocles and Euripides? Shall he transplant to English soil the art of the "lofty grave tragedians" of Greece? The question is answered in a decided affirmative. Had Milton continued the poem of which the opening lines were written in 1642 we should have had—not an epic but—a drama, or possibly a trilogy of dramas, cast in a particular manner, as will be observed presently. This transference of his inclinations from the epic to the dramatic style appears to date from 1641. It is manifested in the Milton MSS. at Trinity College. Of these a word must be said.

When the present library of Trinity College, the erection of which was begun during the Mastership of Isaac Barrow, was completed, one of its earliest benefactors was a former member of Trinity, Sir Henry Newton Puckering. Among his gifts was a thin MS. volume of fifty-four pages, which had served Milton as a commonplace book. How it came into the possession of Sir Henry Puckering is not known. He was contemporary with, though junior to, Milton, and may possibly have been one of the admirers who visited the poet in the closing years of his life, and discharged the office of amanuensis; or perhaps there was some family connection by means of which the MS. passed into his hands. But if the history of the book be obscure, its value is not; for it contains—now in Milton's autograph, now in strange, unidenti-

¹ Perhaps he was influenced by discovering, after fuller research, the mythical character of the legend. So much is rather implied by some remarks in his *History of Britain*. Milton with his intense earnestness was not the poet to build a long work on what he had found to be mainly fiction.

*Change of
style: the poem
to be—not an
epic but—
a drama*

*The Milton
MS. at Trinity
College*

fied handwritings—the original drafts of several of his early poems: notably of *Arcades*, *Lycidas* and *Comus*, together with many of the *Sonnets*. The volume, be it observed, is not (as might be inferred from some descriptions thereof) a random collection of scattered papers bound together after Milton's death: it exists (apart from its sumptuous modern investiture) exactly in the same form as that wherein Milton knew and used it two centuries and a half ago. And this point is important because the order of the pages, and, by consequence, of their contents, is an index to the order of the composition of the poems. Milton, about the year 1631, had had the sheets of paper stitched together and then worked through the little volume, page on page, inserting his pieces as they were written. They cover a long period, from 1631 to 1658: the earlier date being marked by the second *Sonnet*, the later by the last of the series—"Methought I saw." It is rather more than half way through the MS. that we light on the entries which have so direct a bearing on the history of *Paradise Lost*.

These are notes, written by Milton himself (probably in 1641), and occupying seven pages of the manuscript, on subjects which seemed to him suitable, in varying degrees of appropriateness, for his poem. Some of the entries are very brief—concise jottings down, in two or three words, of any theme that struck him. Others are more detailed: the salient features of some episode in history are selected, and a sketch of the best method of treating them added. In a few instances these sketches are filled in with much minuteness and care: the 'economy' or arrangement of the poem is marked out—the action traced from point to point. But, *Paradise Lost* apart, this has been done in only a few cases—a half dozen, at most. As a rule, the source whence the material of the work might be drawn, is indicated. The subjects themselves, numbering just one hundred, fall, in a rough classification, under two headings—Scriptural and British¹: and by 'British' are meant those which Milton drew from the chronicles of British history prior to the Norman Conquest. The former

*How the MSS.
illustrate the
history of
"Paradise
Lost."*

¹ Cf. the reference to "our own ancient stories," *Church Gov.* II.

are the more numerous class: sixty-two being derived from the Bible, of which the Old Testament claims fifty-four. Their character will be best illustrated by quotation of a few typical examples:

Abram in Ægypt
Josuah in Gibeon. *Josu. 10.*
Jonathan rescu'd *Sam. 1. 14.*
Saul in Gilboa *1 Sam. 28. 34.*
Gideon Idoloclastes *Jud. 6. 7.*
Abimelech, the usurper *Jud. 9.*
*Samaria Liberata*¹ *2 Reg. 7.*
Asa or Æthiopes, *2 Chron. 14 with*
the deposing his mother, and burning her Idol.

These are some of the subjects drawn from the New Testament

Lazarus *John 11.*
Christ risen
Christus patiens

The Scene in y^e garden beginning from y^e comming thither til Judas betraies and y^e officers lead him away—y^e rest by message and chorus. His agony may receav noble expressions.

Of British subjects there are thirty-three. The last page is assigned to "Scotch stonies or rather brittish of the north parts." Among these *Macbeth* is conspicuous. Practically they may be grouped with the thirty-three, and the combined list is remarkable—first, because it does not include the Arthurian legend, which had once exercised so powerful a fascination on Milton; secondly, because in its brevity, as compared with the list of Scriptural subjects, it suggests his preference for a sacred poem.

Of the Scriptural subjects the story of the Creation and Fall assumes the most prominent place. Any friend of Milton glancing through these papers in 1641 could have conjectured, with tolerable certainty, where the poet's final choice would fall. For no

Prose sketches of the scheme of a poem on the Fall of Man.

¹ The title is an obvious allusion to Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*.

less than four of the entries refer to *Paradise Lost*. Three of these stand at the head of the list of sacred themes. In two at least his intention to treat the subject in dramatic form is patent.

The two first drafts. The two first—mere enumerations of possible *dramatis personæ*—run thus¹; it will be seen that the longer list is simply an expansion of the other:

the Persons.

Michael
Heavenly Love
Chorus of Angels
Lucifer
Adam } *with the serpent*
Eve }
Conscience
Death
Labour }
Sickness } *mutēs*
Discontent }
Ignorance }
with others }
Faith
Hope
Charity

the Persons.

*Moses*²
*Justice*³, *Mercie*, *Wisdom*
Heavenly Love
Hesperus the Evening Starre
Chorus of Angels
Lucifer
Adam
Eve
*Conscience*⁴
Labour }
Sickness } *mutēs*
Discontent }
Ignorance }
Faith }
Death }
Faith
Hope
Charity

¹ As they are in the original, without any modernisation. Neither is introduced with any title.

² Milton wrote, "Moses or Michael;" and afterwards deleted *or Michael*.

³ The epithet *divine*, qualifying *Justice*, was inserted and then crossed out again.

⁴ After *Conscience* Milton added *Death*, as in the first list; then deleted it, and placed *Death* among the 'mutēs' (*mutæ personæ*, characters who appeared without speaking).

These lists are crossed out; and underneath stands a much fuller sketch, in which the action of the tragedy is shown, and the division into acts observed. Here, *The third draft* too, we first meet with the title *Paradise Lost*. The scheme is as follows.

*Paradise Lost.**The Persons.*

Moses προλογίζει, recounting how he assum'd his true bodie, that it corrupts not because of his [being] with God in the mount, declares the like of Enoch and Elisha, besides the purity of y^e place, that certaine pure winds, dews, and clouds preserve it from corruption; whence exhorts to the sight of God, tells they¹ cannot see Adam in the state of innocence by reason of thire sin².

Justice }
Mercie } debating what should become of man if he fall
Wisdom }

Chorus of Angels sing a hymne of y^e Creation³.

Act 2.

Heavenly Love

Evening staire

Chorus sing the marriage song⁴ and describe Paradise

Act 3.

Lucifer contriving Adams ruine

Chorus feares for Adam and relates Lucifers rebellion and fall⁵.

Act 4.

Adam } fallen
Eve }

Conscience cites them to Gods examination⁶

Chorus bewails and tells the good Adam hath lost

¹ They, i e. the imaginary audience to whom the prologue is addressed. Cf. the commencement of *Comus*.

² After this the first act begins.

³ Cf. vii. 253—260, note

⁴ iv. 711.

⁵ bks. v—vi.

⁶ x 97 et seq.

Act 5.

*Adam and Eve driven out of Paradise
presented by an angel with¹*

Labour

Griefe

Hatred

Envie

Warre

Famine

Pestilence

Sickness

Discontent

Ignorance

Feare

*Death enterd
into y^e world*

*mutes to whome he gives thire names
likewise Winter, Heat, Tempest, etc.*

Faith

Hope

Charity

comfort him and instruct him

Chorus briefly concludes.

This draft of the tragedy, which occurs on page 35 of the MS., is not deleted; but Milton was still dissatisfied, and later on, page 40, we come to a fourth, and concluding, scheme—which reads thus:

Adam unparadis'd²

The angel Gabriel, either descending or entering³, shewing since this globe was created, his frequency as much on earth, as in heaven, describes Paradise. Next the chorus shewing the reason of his coming to keep his watch in Paradise after Lucifers rebellion by command from God, and withall expressing

¹ Cf. bks. XI—XII.

² Underneath was written, and crossed out, an alternative title—*Adams Banishment*.

³ Cf. *Comus*, "The Attendant Spirit descends or enters" (*ad init.*).

his¹ desire to see, and know more concerning this excellent new creature man. The angel Gabriel, as by his name signifying a prince of power, tracing² Paradise with a more free office, passes by the station of y^e chorus, and desired by them relates what he knew of man—as the creation of Eve with thire love and marriage. After this Lucifer appeares after his overthrow, bemoans himself, seeks revenge on man; the chorus prepare resistance at his first approach; at last after discourse of enmity on either side he departs, whereat the chorus sings of the battell, and victorie in heavn against him and his accomplices, as before after the first act³ was sung a hymn of the creation. Heer⁴ again may appear Lucifer relating, and insulting in what he had don to the destruction of man. Man next and Eve having by this time bin seduct by the serpent appeares confusedly cover'd with leaves; conscience in a shape accuses him, Justice cites him to the place whither Jehovah called for him. In the mean while the chorus entertains the stage, and is inform'd by some angel the manner of his fall; heer⁵ the chorus bewailes Adams fall. Adam then and Eve retorne and accuse one another, but especially Adam layes the blame to his wife, is stubborn in his offence. Justice appeares, reasons with him, convinces him. The⁶ chorus admonisheth Adam, and bids him beware by Lucifers example of impenitence. The angel is sent to banish them out of Paradise, but before causes to passe before his eyes in shapen a mask of all the evils⁷ of this life and world; he is humbl'd, relents, despaires. At last appeares Mercy, comforts him, promises the Messiah, then calls in Faith, Hope, and Charity, instructs him. He repents, gives God the glory, submits to his penalty. The chorus briefly concludes. Compare this with the former draught (i.e. draft).

¹ *his*, i.e. the chorus's; he makes the chorus now a singular, now a plural, noun. The irregularity of the style of the whole entry, with its lack of punctuation, shows that it is merely a jotting, such as anyone might commit to a private memorandum-book.

² Passing through; cf. *Comus* 423.

³ i.e. in the third draft.

⁴ Each of these sentences was an after-thought, added below or in the margin.

⁵ See xi. 469—93, note.

With regard to the subject, therefore, thus much is clear: as early as 1641—2 Milton has manifested an unmistakeable preference for the story of the lost Paradise, and the evidence of the Trinity MSS. coincides with the testimony of Aubrey and Phillips, who say that the poet did, about 1642, commence the composition of a drama on this theme—of which drama the opening verses of *Paradise Lost*, book IV. (Satan's address to the sun), formed the exordium. It is, I think, by no means improbable that some other portions of the epic are really fragments of this unfinished work. Milton may have written two or three hundred lines, have kept them in his desk, and then, years afterward, when the project was resumed, have made use of them where opportunity offered. Had the poem, however, been completed in accordance with his original conception we should have had a tragedy, not an epic.

Of this there is abundant proof. The third and fourth sketches, as has been observed, are dramatic. On the first page of these entries, besides those lists of *dramatis personæ* which we have treated as the first and second sketches, stand the words "*other Tragedies*," followed by the enumeration of several feasible subjects. The list of British subjects is prefaced with the heading—"British Trag." (i.e. tragedies). Wherever Milton has outlined the treatment of any of the Scriptural themes a tragedy is clearly indicated. Twice, indeed, another form is mentioned—the pastoral, and probably a dramatic pastoral was intended¹. These, however, are exceptions, serving to emphasise his leaning towards tragedy.

But what sort of tragedy? I think we may fairly conclude that, if carried out on the lines laid down in the fourth sketch, *Adam unparadis'd* would have borne a very marked resem-

¹ These are the two entries in the MS. referred to: *Theristria, a Pastoral out of Ruth*; and—*the sheepshearers in Carmel, a Pastoral. 1 Sam. 25*. There is but one glance at the epical style; in the list of "British Tragedies," after mentioning an episode in the life of King Alfred appropriate to dramatic handling, he adds—"A Heroicall Poem may be founded somewhere in Alfreds reigne."

blance to *Samson Agonistes*: it would have conformed, in the main, to the same type—that, namely, of the ancient Greek drama. With the romantic stage of the Elizabethans Milton appears to have felt little sympathy¹: else he would scarce have written certain verses in *Il Penseroso*². Nor do I believe that his youthful enthusiasm for Shakespeare endured long³: certainly, within a few years of the period of which we are speaking he penned the unfortunate passage in *Ekphrastic* which only just escapes being a sneer at Shakespeare; while the condemnation of one important aspect of Shakespearian tragedy in the preface to *Samson Agonistes* is too plain to be misinterpreted. So had Milton been minded to dramatise the story of Macbeth—we have marked its presence in the list of Scottish subjects—his *Macbeth* would have differed *toto cælo* from Shakespeare's. In the same way, his tragedy of *Paradise Lost* would have been wholly un-Shakespearian, wholly un-Elizabethan. Nor would it have had any affinity to the drama of Milton's contemporaries⁴, those belated Elizabethans bungling with exhausted materials and forms that had lost all vitality. Tragedy for Milton could mean but one thing—the tragic stage of the Greeks, the “dramatic constitutions” of Sophocles and Euripides: and when we examine these sketches of *Paradise Lost* we find in them the familiar features of Athenian drama—certain signs eloquent of the source on which the poet has drawn.

Let us, for example, glance at the draft of *Adam unparadis'd*. Milton has kept the “unities” of place and time. The scene does not change; it is set in some part of Eden, and everything represented before the eyes of the audience occurs at the same spot. But whoso regards the unity of place must suffer a portion of the action to happen off the stage—not enacted in the presence of the audi-

*In the style of
the Greek
drama.*

*This is shown
by the Trinity
MSS.*

¹ See *Appendix to Samson Agonistes*, pp. 162—164.

² ll. 101, 102; see note on them.

³ See note on *L'Allegro*, 133, 134 (Pitt Press ed.).

⁴ In the treatise *On Education*, 1644, he speaks of “our common rhymers and play-writers” as “despicable creatures,” *P. IV. III. 474*.

ence (as in a modern play where the scene changes), but reported. In *Samson Agonistes* Milton employs the traditional device of the Greek tragedians—he relates the catastrophe by the mouth of a messenger. So here: the temptation by the serpent is not represented on the scene: it is described—partly by Lucifer, “relating, and insulting in what he had don to the destruction of man;” partly by an angel who informs the Chorus of the manner of the fall. Again, the unity of time is observed. The time over which the action of a tragedy might extend, according to the usual practice of the Greek dramatists, was twenty-four hours. In *Samson Agonistes* the action begins at sunrise and ends at noon, thus occupying seven or eight hours. In *Adam unparadis’d* the action would certainly not exceed the customary twenty-four hours. Again a Chorus is introduced (sure sign of classical influence), and not only introduced, but handled exactly as Milton, following his Greek models, has handled it in *Samson Agonistes*: that is to say, closely identified with the action of the tragedy, even as Aristotle recommends that it should be¹. Further, in the fourth scheme the division into acts is carefully avoided—an advance this on the third scheme. Similarly, in *Samson Agonistes* Milton avoids splitting up the play into scenes and acts, calling attention to the fact in his preface. Proofs² of Milton’s classical bias might be multiplied from these Milton MSS.; and personally I have no doubt that when he began the tragedy of which Aubrey and Phillips speak, he meant to revive in English the methods and style of his favourite

¹ See *Introduction to Samson Agonistes*, pp. xxxiv—xxxvi.

² Thus, apart from *P. L.*, the Scriptural themes whereof the fullest sketches are given, are three tragedies severally entitled *Isaac redeem’d*, *Baptistes* (i.e. on the subject of John the Baptist and Herod), and *Sodom burning*. In each the two unities (time and place) are kept, and a Chorus used. In *Isaac redeem’d* the incident of the sacrifice is reported, and the description of the character of the hero Abraham as Milton meant to depict him is simply a paraphrase on Aristotle’s definition of the ideal tragic hero. Most of the other subjects have a sub-title such as the Greek tragedians employed. To a classical scholar the bearing of such evidence is patent.

Greek poets. But the scheme soon had to be abandoned ; and not till a quarter of a century later was it executed, with only a change of subject, in *Samson Agonistes*¹.

The third period in the genesis of *Paradise Lost* dates from 1658. In that year, according to Aubrey, Milton "*Paradise Lost*" began.

By then he had gone back to the epic style. He was still Secretary, but his duties were very light, and allowed him to devote himself to poetry. At the Restoration he was in danger, for some time, of his life, and was imprisoned for a few months. But in spite of this interruption, and of his blindness², the epic was *Completed and revised*. finished about 1663. The history of each of his

longer poems shows that he was exceedingly careful in revising his works—loth to let them go forth to the world till all that was possible had been done to achieve perfection. It is Aubrey's statement that *Paradise Lost* was completed in 1663 ; while Milton's friend Thomas Ellwood, the Quaker, describes in a famous passage of his *Autobiograph*, how in 1665 the poet placed a manuscript in his hands—"bidding me take it home with me and read it at my leisure, and, when I had so done, return it to him with my judgment thereupon. When I came home, and had set myself to read it, I found it was that excellent poem which he intituled *Paradise Lost*." Ellwood's account may be reconciled with Aubrey's on the reasonable supposition that the interval between 1663 and 1665 was spent in revision. Still, some delay in publishing the poem ensued. On the outbreak of the Plague in 1665 Milton had left London, retiring to Chalfont in Buckinghamshire, where Ellwood had rented a cottage for him. He returned in the next year, 1666 ;

¹ The point is important because it disposes of the silly notion that Milton borrowed the idea of writing a tragedy on the classical model from the play of *Samson* by the Dutch poet Vondel. See *Appendix to Samson Agonistes*, pp. 162—164.

² According to Edward Phillips, Milton dictated the poem to any one who chanced to be present and was willing to act as amanuensis ; afterwards Phillips would go over the MS., correcting errors, under his uncle's direction.

but again there was delay—this time through the great Fire of London which disorganized business. Not till 1667

Published.

did *Paradise Lost* appear in print. The date of the agreement drawn up between Milton and his publisher—by which he received an immediate payment of £5, and retained certain rights over the future sale of the book—is dated April 27, 1667. The date on which *Paradise Lost* was entered in the Stationers' Register is August 20, 1667. No doubt, copies were in circulation in the autumn of this year.

This first edition of *Paradise Lost* raises curious points¹ of bibliography into which there is no need to enter

The first edition.

here; but we must note three things: (i) The poem was divided into—not twelve books but—ten.

(ii) In the earlier copies issued to the public there were no prose *Arguments*; these (written, we may suppose, by Milton himself) were printed all together and inserted at the commencement of each of the later volumes of this first edition—an awkward arrangement changed in the second edition. (iii) Milton prefixed to the later copies the brief prefatory note on *The Verse*, explaining why he had used blank verse; and it was preceded by the address of *The Printer to the Reader*. It seems that the number of copies printed in the first edition was 1500; and the statement of another payment made by the publisher to Milton on account of the sale of the book shows that by April 26, 1669, i.e. a year and a half after the date of publication, 1300 copies had been disposed of.

¹ For example, no less than nine distinct title-pages of this edition have been traced. This means that, though the whole edition was printed in 1667, only a limited number of copies were bound up and issued in that year. The rest would be kept in stock, unbound, and published in instalments, as required. Hence new matter could be inserted (such as the prose *Arguments*), and in each instalment it would be just as easy to bind up a new title-page as to use the old one. Often the date had to be changed: and we find that two of these pages bear the year 1667; four, 1668; and three, 1669. Seven have Milton's name in full; two, only his initials. Mr Leigh Sotheby has collated them carefully in his book on Milton's autograph, pp. 81—84.

In 1674 the second edition was issued—with several changes. First, the epic was divided into twelve books, a more Vergilian number, by the subdivision¹ of *The second edition.* books VII. and X. Secondly, the prose *Arguments* were transferred from the beginning and prefixed to the respective books to which they severally belonged. Thirdly, a few changes² were introduced into the text—few of any great significance. Four years later, 1678, came the third edition, and in 1688 the fourth. This last was the well-known folio published by Tonson; *Paradise Re-* *Later editions.* *gained* and *Samson Agonistes* were bound up with some copies of it, so that Milton's three great works were obtainable in a single volume. The first annotated edition of *Paradise Lost* was that edited by Patrick Hume in 1695, being the sixth reprint. And during the last century editions³ were very numerous.

There is, indeed, little ground for the view which one so frequently comes across—that *Paradise Lost* met with scant appreciation, and that Milton was neglected by his contemporaries, and without honour in his lifetime. To the general public epic poetry will never appeal, more especially if it be steeped in the classical feeling that pervades *Paradise Lost*; but there must have been a goodly number of scholars and lettered readers to welcome the work—else why these successive editions, appearing at no very lengthy intervals? *Was Milton appreciated by his contemporaries?* One thing, doubtless, which prejudiced its popularity was the personal resentment of the Royalist classes at Milton's political actions. They could not

¹ Milton wrote three fresh lines to introduce bk. VIII. in the new arrangement of the poem, and five lines for the beginning of bk. XII. It was to the second edition that the commendatory verses by Samuel Barrow and Andrew Marvell were prefixed.

³ Prominent among them is Bishop Newton's edition (1749). He was the first editor who took pains to secure accuracy of text, doing, on a smaller scale, for Milton what Theobald did for Shakespeare. His services too in the elucidation of certain aspects (notably the Scriptural) of Milton's learning have never been surpassed.

forget his long identification with republicanism ; and there was much in the poem itself—covert sneers and gibes—which would repel many who were loyal to the Church and the Court. Further, the style of *Paradise Lost* was something very different from the prevailing tone of the literature then current and popular. Milton was the last of the Elizabethans, a lonely survival lingering on into days when French influence was beginning to dominate English taste. Even the metre of his poem must have sounded strange to ears familiarised to the crisp clearness and epigrammatic ring of the rhymed couplet¹. Yet, in spite of these obstacles, many whose praise was worth the having were proud of Milton : they felt that he had done honour to his country. He was accorded that which he had sought so earnestly—acceptance as a great national poet ; and it is pleasant to read how men of letters and social distinction would pay visits of respect to him, and how the white-winged Fame bore his name and reputation abroad, so that foreigners came to England for the especial purpose of seeing him.

There has been much discussion about the “sources” of *Paradise Lost*, and writers well nigh as countless as Vallombrosa’s autumn leaves have been thrust forth from their obscurity to claim the honour of having “inspired” (as the phrase is) the great epic. Most of these unconscious claimants were, like enough, unknown to Milton ; and out of the motley, many-tongued throng Mr Mark Pattison thinks it worth while—perhaps as a concession to tradition—to mention but three.

First comes the Italian poet Giovanni-Battista Andreini².
Andreini’s Voltaire, in his *Essai sur la Poésie Epique* written in
“Adamo,” 1727, related that Milton, during his residence at
 Florence in 1638—9, saw “a comedy called *Adamo*.
The subject of the play was the Fall of Man : the actors, the Devils³, the Angels⁴, Adam, Eve, the Serpent, Death, and the

¹ Cf. Marvell’s “Commendatory Verses,” 45—53.

² He lived 1578—1652.

³ i.e. Lucifer, Satan, Beelzebub.

⁴ Among them being the Archangel Michael.

Seven Mortal Sins.....Milton pierced through the absurdity of that performance to the hidden majesty of the subject ; which, being altogether unfit for the stage, yet might be, for the genius of Milton, and his only, the foundation of an epick poem." What authority he had for this legend Voltaire does not say. It is not alluded to by any of Milton's contemporary biographers. It may have been a mere invention¹ by some ill-wisher of the poet, a piece of malicious gossip circulated out of political spite against the great champion of republicanism. But it has given rise to various conjectures : as that Milton may have met Andreini himself, or may have read² the work, if he did not actually see it represented. All of which is quite possible : but then it is equally possible that none of these things happened. We have only this random remark by Voltaire, unsupported by a scrap of satisfactory external evidence, and not substantiated by any striking internal resemblance between the *Adamo* and *Paradise Lost*. Even to accept the Voltairean theory were only to admit that Andreini's play may have supplied Milton with a notion of what the subject which is common to the two poems might be made to yield. Seeing the *Adamo* represented, or reading it, Milton may have discovered and been impressed by the "hidden majesty" of the theme : that is like enough. only we could wish some more conclusive testimony than Voltaire's unconfirmed account that Milton did ever either see or peruse the play.

The second claimant is the Dutch poet, Joost van den Vondel. He was contemporary with Milton, and the author of a great number of works. Among ^{Vondel's} "*Lucifer*," them were several dramas on Scriptural subjects.

¹ Even Johnson, no friendly critic of Milton, characterised it as "a wild and unauthorised story."

² It had been printed in 1613, and again in 1617. The title-page of the first edition describes the work as "*L'Adamo, Sacra Rappresentatione, da Giovanni-Battista Andreini. Milano, 1613.*" A translation by Hayley was printed in Cowper's edition of Milton. He would be clever who should find aught markedly Miltonic in the *Adamo*: Pope could not (according to Spence, *Anecdotes*).

With three of them Milton is supposed by some writers to have been acquainted. These are *Lucifer* (1654), a drama on the revolt of the angels and their fall from heaven; *John the Messenger* (1662), and *Adam in Banishment* (1664). In a work¹ published a few years since it was contended that Milton borrowed a good deal from these three poems—a view from which I beg leave to dissent. It is unsupported by a shred of external testimony, and is intrinsically unlikely.

That Milton had probably heard of Vondel may be conceded. Vondel enjoyed a great reputation; beside which, there was in the 17th century much intercourse between England and Holland, and Milton from his position as Secretary, no less than from his controversies with Salmasius and Morus, must have had his thoughts constantly directed towards the Netherlands.

Also, we learn that he had some knowledge of the Dutch language. But it will be observed that the earliest of the poems with which he is thought to have been too conversant, namely *Lucifer*, was not published till after his blindness, while by the time that the last of them, *Adam in Banishment*, appeared, *Paradise Lost* was almost completed. It is impossible that Milton read a line of the works himself: if he knew them at all, it must have been through the assistance of some reader or translator; and considering how many details concerning the last years of Milton's life have survived, it is exceeding curious that this reader or translator should have escaped mention, and that the Vondelian fiction should not have been heard of till a century after the poet's death. For there were plenty of people ready to do him an ill-turn and damage his repute; and plagiarism from his Dutch contemporary would have been an excellent cry to raise. As it is, Milton's biographers—and contemporaries—P'hillips, Aubrey, Toland, Antony à Wood, are absolutely silent on the subject. Phillips indeed and Toland expressly mention the languages in which Milton used to have works read to him. The list is extensive: it includes

*Were Vondel's
works known
to Milton?*

¹ I allude to Mr Edmundson's *Milton and Vondel* (1885).

Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish and French: and it does *not* include Dutch—a most significant omission.

In default of external proof those who put forward this ignoble theory of plagiarism have recourse to the test of the parallel passage: they cite what they conceive to be similarities of thought, description and expression between Vondel's three poems and *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. This test is always unsatisfactory—even when the writers compared use the same vehicle of expression, a common language. But applied to writers separated by difference of tongue the test becomes well-nigh worthless. It will prove everything—or nothing: you have only to take passages that treat of the same subject and translate the one, as far as may be, into the actual words of the other, and the charge of plagiarism will seem proved up to the hilt. But the process does not commend itself to impartial critics, and I think that any unbiassed reader who examines these supposed similarities between Milton and Vondel will be of opinion, that the most are merely *The resemblance accidental* ridiculous—no similarities at all—and that the few Vondelian passages which may be compared quite legitimately with parts of *Paradise Lost* only serve to illustrate the elementary truth that writers who handle the same themes must meet in periodic points of resemblance¹.

There remains the so-called *Cædmon Paraphrase*. In the Bodleian is the manuscript of an Old English metrical *Paraphrase* of parts² of the Old Testament. *Cædmon* This work was long attributed to the Northumbrian religious writer Cædmon, of whom Bede speaks. Cædmon lived in the seventh century. He is supposed to have died about 670. There is no reason for thinking that he was not the author of sacred poems, as Bede represents him to have been; but there is also no possibility of believing that the *Paraphrase*, as we have it, was written by him. It is a composite work in which

¹ This Vondel question is discussed at some detail in an essay appended to my edition of *Samson Agonistes* (Pitt Press Series), pp. 158—168.

² Namely *Genesis*, *Exodus* and *Daniel*. It is the paraphrase of *Genesis* that would have concerned Milton most.

several hands may be traced, and the different styles belong to a date long subsequent to Cædmon¹. The MS. was once in the possession of Archbishop Usher. He presented it in 1651 to his secretary, the Teutonic scholar, Francis Dujon, commonly called Franciscus Junius. Junius published the MS. at Amsterdam in 1655. Milton never saw the *Paraphrase* in print, for the same reason that he never saw Vondel's *Lucifer*. But inasmuch as Junius had been settled in England since 1620, it is quite likely that he knew Milton²; if so, he may have mentioned the *Paraphrase*, and even translated parts of it. Here, however, as in the previous cases of Andreini and Vondel, we cannot get beyond conjecture; the question resolves itself perforce into the irritating 'perhaps,' 'may have,' *plus* the inevitable parallel passage. For just as one critic is ready with his "resemblances" from the *Adamo*, and another with reams of crude commonplace from *Lucifer*, so the victims of the Cædmon fallacy have their set of pet parallels betwixt the *Paraphrase* (which in its Old English dress was probably unintelligible to Milton³) and *Paradise Lost*. And though we have mentioned but three of these supposed "sources" of *Paradise Lost*—perhaps three too many—yet there be who shall say how many other works in which "resemblances" have been detected? In fact, what it comes to is this: almost every work (no matter what the language) dealing with the same subject as *Paradise Lost* and written prior to it, has been seized on and made to serve the purposes of the traffickers in parallel passages. Dutch epics

¹ See the article by Mr Henry Bradley in the *Dictionary of Biography*. There is also a good discussion of the authorship of the work in the Appendix to Professor Ten Brink's *Early English Literature*.

² This was first pointed out by Sharon Turner; see also Masson, *Life*, vi. 557.

³ In a very ingenious paper in *Anglia*, iv. pp. 401—405, Professor Wuelcker argues that Milton had not much knowledge of Anglo-Saxon. In his *History of Britain* he habitually quotes Latin Chronicles, and in one place virtually admits that an Old English chronicle was not intelligible to him.

(with "the very Dutch sublimity" which Southey discovered in the *Ancient Mariner*); Latin epics and tragedies¹ by German and Scotch and English scholars; Italian, Spanish and Portuguese poems: all bring grist to the mill, and the outcome is a mass—gross as a mountain, open, palpable—of what Dr Masson justly terms "laborious nonsense²."

Now to prove a negative is proverbially difficult; and it is beyond any man's power to demonstrate that Milton was *not* acquainted with Andreini, or *Milton no plagiarist.* Vondel, or Cædmon³, or some of the other writers. He *may* have known their works: he *may* have been indebted to them for an occasional suggestion. It is an open question: it admits of no decisive settlement one way or the other, because we have no decisive evidence—external or internal. But that Milton "plagiarised" from them; that in any of them lay the "origin" of *Paradise Lost*; that the qualities which have made the epic immortal were due, in the faintest degree, to any other genius than that of Milton himself: these are fond delusions, vainly imagined, without warranty, and altogether to be cast out.

We must indeed recognise in Milton's style the impress of four great influences—these being the Bible, the classics, the Italian poets, and English literature. *The four great influences discernible in Milton*
Of the Bible he possessed a knowledge such as few have had. There are hundreds of allusions to it: the words of Scripture underlie some part of the text of every page of *Paradise Lost*; and apart from verbal reminiscences there is much of the spirit that *The Bible.*

¹ There was a Latin tragedy, *Adamus Eaul*, by the jurist Grotius. Milton met Grotius in Paris (as he tells us in the *Defensio Secunda*), and quotes him in his prose works. Perhaps he read the tragedy.

² The delusion reached its climax in the monstrous mendacities of William Lauder; for a sample of his libellous malevolence see i. 261—263, note.

³ I may note in passing that "resemblances" every whit as striking as those which are cited from the *Paraphrase* may be found in Cynewulf's

perivades that noblest achievement of the English tongue.

The classics. Scarcely less powerful was the influence of the classics. Milton's allusiveness extends over the whole empire of classical humanity and letters, and to the scholar his work is full of the exquisite charm of endless reference to the noblest things that the ancients have thought

Italian poets. and said. That he was deeply versed in Italian poetry the labours of his early editors have abundantly proved; and their comparative studies are confirmed by the frequent mention of Dante, Petrarch, Tasso, Ariosto and others in his prose works and correspondence. In

English literature. English literature I imagine that he had read everything worth reading. Without doubt, he was most affected by "our admired Spenser¹." He was, says²

Spenser, and the Spenserian school. Dryden, "the poetical son of Spenser. Milton has acknowledged to me that Spenser was his original." And there was a Spenserian school of poets, mostly

Cambridge men, and some of them contemporary with Milton at the University, with whose works he evidently had a considerable acquaintance. Among these the two Fletchers were conspicuous—Giles Fletcher, author of the sacred poems *Christ's Victorie on Earth* and *Christ's Triumph in Heaven*; and Phineas Fletcher, author of *The Purple Island*. The influence of the Fletchers is manifest in Milton's early poems³, and it is traceable in *Paradise Lost*. Finally, we must not

Christ by anyone who will study the beautiful edition of that poem lately edited by Mr Gollancz of Christ's College. Yet who would contend that the *Codex Exoniensis*, wrapped in the cloistered obscurity of a chapter-house, was known to Milton? Identity of inspiration (the Scripture) explains similarity.

¹ *Animadversions*, P. IV. III. 84. On Milton's feeling for Spenser see note to *Il Penseroso* 116—120. ² *Preface to Fables*.

³ See the *Introduction to Comus*, p. xxxviii, and that to *Lycidas*, pp. xlv—xlv. Phineas Fletcher's *Apollyonists* might also be mentioned (see II. 650, 746, notes). Besides the Fletchers, there was Henry More, the famous "Cambridge Platonist." Milton must have known him at Christ's College.

forget Sylvester. Joshua Sylvester (of whom little is known beyond that he was born in 1563, died in 1618, and diversified the profession of merchant with the *Sylvester's "Du Bartas."* making of much rhyme, translated into exceedingly Spenserian verse *The Divine Weeks and Works* of the French poet, Du Bartas¹. The subject of this very lengthy work is the story of Creation, with the early history of the Jews. The translation was amazingly popular. Dryden confessed that he had once preferred Sylvester to Spenser. There is no doubt that Milton studied Sylvester in his youth; and *The Divine Weeks* is certainly one of the works whereof account must be taken in any attempt to estimate the literary influences that moulded Milton's style.

But a writer may be influenced by others, and not "plagiarise;" and it is well to remember that from Vergil downwards the great poets have exercised their royal right of adapting the words of their forerunners and infusing into them a fresh charm and suggestion, since in allusion lies one of the chief delights of literature. It is well, also, to realise wherein lies the greatness of *Paradise Lost*, and to understand that all the borrowing in the world could not contribute a jot to the qualities which have rendered the epic "a possession for ever." What has made the poem live is not the story, nobly though that illustrates the eternal antagonism of righteousness and wrong, and the overthrow of evil; nor the construction, though this is sufficiently artistic; nor the learning, though this is vast; nor the characterisation, for which there is little scope: not these things, though all are factors in the greatness of the poem, and in all Milton rises to the height of his argument—but the incomparable elevation of the style, "the shaping spirit of Imagination," and the mere majesty of the music.

¹ Sylvester translated a good deal from Du Bartas beside the *Divine Weeks*; and rhymed on his own account. Dr Grosart has collected his works into two bulky volumes.

THE STORY OF THE POEM.

A sketch of the action of the whole poem, following the sequence of the twelve books, may be useful to those who are acquainted only with parts of *Paradise Lost* :—

I. The scene Hell—the time nine days after the expulsion of Satan and his followers from Heaven. They lie on the burning lake, stupefied. Satan first recovers, rouses Beëlzebub, discusses with him their position, and then makes his way from the lake to a “dreary plain” of dry land. Beëlzebub follows ; Satan calls to his comrades to do likewise. Rising on the wing they reach the same firm land. Their numbers and names described. They range themselves in battle-array before Satan, who addresses them. They may still (he says) regain Heaven ; or there may be other worlds to win— in particular, a new world, inhabited by new-created beings, of which report had spoken : let these matters be duly conferred of. Straightway, a vast palace—Pandemonium—is made, to serve as council-chamber. Here a council is held ; only the great Angels are present.

II. The scene—at first—Pandemonium ; the debate begins. Satan invites their counsel—“who can advise may speak.” Moloch, Belial and Mammon speak—their several counsels : last Beëlzebub, who reverts to Satan’s hint of the new world. Why not ruin it? or make it their own? or win its inhabitants to their side? What better revenge against the Almighty? The plan approved—but who will discover this world? None volunteer : and then Satan offers to undertake the journey. His offer accepted ; the council leaving Pandemonium breaks up ; the result announced to the rest of the Angels. How they pass the time till his return—some exploring Hell (now more closely described). Meanwhile he reaches Hell-gates, is suffered to pass by Sin and Death, voyages through Chaos (described), and at

last comes within sight of the Universe hung in space¹ (i.e. Chaos). We leave him directing his course towards the World.

III. The scene—at first—Heaven. The Almighty perceives Satan, points him out to the Son, tells what his design is, and its destined success; tells also that Man will be saved ultimately—if he can find a Redeemer. “The Son of God freely offers himself a ransom for Man;” is accepted by the Father, and praised by the Angelic host. Meanwhile—the scene changing—Satan, having reached the outer surface (described) of the Universe, wanders through various regions (described), until, coming to the single opening in the surface, he descends into the inside of the Universe¹. He arrives at the sphere of the Sun; disguising himself as a young Angel from Heaven, enquires from Uriel, the Sun-spirit, the way to Earth—pretending “desire to behold the new Creation;” is directed by Uriel, descends again, and alights on Mt Niphates.

IV. There, pausing awhile, he gives way to regret that he has rebelled, and rage at his outcast state; passion distorts his face, so that Uriel, watching, now knows him for an evil spirit. Thence, recovering self-control, Satan journeys on towards Eden, the main scene (described); sees Adam and Eve (famous description of them); overhears what they say concerning the Tree of Knowledge, and perceives at once the means whereby to compass their fall. At nightfall he essays to tempt Eve in a dream; is discovered by Gabriel, who, warned by Uriel, has descended to Eden to defend Man. A battle between Satan and Gabriel imminent, but averted. Satan flies.

V. The scene still Eden. A further picture of Adam and Eve—their worship and work. Raphael (the scene having changed for a brief space to Heaven) comes to warn them of their danger, at the bidding of the Almighty—so that Man, if he falls, may fall knowingly, by his own fault. Raphael received and entertained; admonishes Adam; explains who his enemy is, and why: which leads to an account of the rebellion in Heaven—its beginning described.

¹ See *Appendix*.

VI. The scene of the events narrated by Raphael Heaven. He describes the three days' war in Heaven, at the end of which Satan and his followers were cast into Hell. The warning to Adam repeated.

VII. The scene Eden. Raphael describes the Creation of the World, which is accomplished by the Son of God.

VIII. The scene the same. Adam enquires concerning the stars and Heavenly bodies; Raphael answers doubtfully. Adam recounts his own first experience of Eden—how the Almighty forbade him to touch the Tree of Knowledge, under pain of what penalty; how he first saw Eve. The day declines, and Raphael departs—once more warning Adam.

IX. The scene the same. "Adam and Eve...go forth to their labours, which Eve proposes to divide in several places, each labouring apart." Adam dissuades; she persisting, he yields. So Satan (in the form of a serpent) finds her alone and tempts her. She eats of the fruit and induces Adam to do so. Their sense of sin and shame.

X. The Son of God descends to Eden, and pronounces doom on Adam and Eve and the Serpent. Meanwhile Satan, returning to Pandemonium, announces the result of his journey, and lo! on a sudden he and his followers are changed to reptiles. Sin and Death now ascend from Hell to Eden, to claim the World as theirs; but the Almighty foretells their ultimate overthrow by the Son, and commands the Angels to make changes in the elements and stars, whereby the Earth becomes less fair. The repentance of Adam and Eve, who seek comfort in supplication of the Deity. The scene has changed often.

XI. The Son interceding, the Father sends Michael to Eden (henceforth the scene) to reveal the future to Adam—above all, his hope of redemption. After announcing to Adam his approaching banishment from Eden, Michael takes him to a high mountain and unrolls before him a vision of the World's history till the Flood.

XII. Then he traces the history of Israel after the Flood, till the coming of Christ, with the subsequent progress of Christianity: ending with renewed promise of redemption. The fiery

Cherubim now descend. Michael leads Adam and Eve to the gates of Eden; and they go forth, sad yet consoled with the hope of salvation at the last¹.

MILTON'S BLANK VERSE.

Something must be said concerning the metre of *Paradise Lost*; and first let us glance at the prefatory note, already mentioned, on *The Verse*.

Milton's attitude towards rhyme reminds us of the condemnations showered on it by Elizabethan critics. Ascham in the *Schoolmaster* (1570) sneers at "our *The use of rhyme.* rude beggerly ryming, brought first into Italie by *Gothes* and *Hunnes*, whan all good verses and all good learning to, were destroyed by them...and at last receyued into England by men of excellent wit indeede, but of small learning, and lesse judgement in that behalfe." "Barbarous" is his darling epithet for rhymed verse. Puttenham² is of a like mind, waving aside "the rhyming poesie of the barbarians," and Webbe³ in his *Discourse of English Poetry* (1586) takes up the tale, ridiculing it as "tinkerly verse"—"brutish poesie"—"a great decay of the good order of versifying." Why Milton should have adopted the same position as these Elizabethan critics who approached the question in a spirit of the merest pedantry, and based their objections to rhyme solely on the fact that it was not employed by the ancients, it is not easy to say. He uses rhyme occasionally in *Samson Agonistes*, in spite of his denunciation of it here; and his own early poems are sufficient refutation of the heresy that therein lies "no true musical delight."

¹ Thus *Paradise Lost* conforms with a canon of epic poetry, and does not really close on a note of sorrow.

² *Arte of English Poesie*; in Haslewood, I. pp. 7—9.

³ Haslewood, II. 55.

There is a polemical tone in his remarks, as though he were replying to some unnamed antagonist; and I cannot help thinking that this preface was meant to be his contribution to the controversy then raging over the comparative advantages of rhymed and unrhymed metres on the stage. In fact, significant in itself, Milton's opinion becomes doubly so if regarded from the standpoint of his contemporaries. Hardly could they fail to see in it a retort to what Dryden had written in the behalf of rhyme—notably in his *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* (1665), in which the rhymed couplet had been set forth as the best vehicle of dramatic expression. In play after play Dryden had put his theory into practice: others had followed his example: to rhyme or not to rhyme—that had become the great question; and here was Milton brushing the matter on one side as of no moment, with the autocratic dictum that rhyme was a vain and fond thing with which a “sage and serious” poet need have no commerce. His readers must have detected the contemporary application of his words—just as later on they must have interpreted his preface to *Samson Agonistes*, with its pointed eulogy of the Greek stage and its depreciation of Restoration tragedy (and “other common interludes”), as a counterblast to the comparison which Dryden had drawn between the modern and the classical drama, in the interests of the former.

However, be this correct or not, and superfluous as it may seem to us that Milton should justify his adoption of blank verse—wherein his surpassing skill is the best of all justifications—we have cause to be grateful to the “stumblings” of the unlettered which led him to write this preface, since it happily defines the qualities for which the metre of *Paradise Lost* is remarkable.

The distinguishing characteristic of Milton's blank verse is his use of what Mr Saintsbury¹ calls the verse-paragraph. Blank verse is exposed to two dangers: it may be formal and stiff by being circumscribed to single lines or couplets; or diffuse and formless

The “paragraph” in Milton's blank verse.

¹ *Elizabethan Literature*, p. 327.

through the sense and rhythm being carried on beyond the couplet. In its earlier stages the metre suffered from the former tendency. It either closed with a strong pause at the end of every line, or just struggled to the climax of the couplet¹. Further it never extended until Marlowe took the "drumming decasyllabon" into his hands, broke up the fetters of the couplet-form, and by the process of overflow carried on the rhythm from verse to verse according as the sense required. It is in his plays that we first get verse in which variety of cadence and pause and beat takes the place of rhyme. Milton entered on the heritage that Marlowe and Shakespeare bequeathed, and brought blank verse to its highest pitch of perfection as an instrument of narration.

Briefly, that perfection lies herein: if we examine a page of *Paradise Lost* we find that what the poet has to say is, for the most part, conveyed, not in single lines, nor in rigid couplets—but in flexible combinations of verses, which wait upon his meaning, not twisting or constraining the sense, but suffering it to be "variously drawn out," so that the thought is merged in its expression.

And these combinations, or paragraphs, are informed by a perfect internal concent and rhythm—held together by a chain of harmony. With a writer less sensitive to sound this free method of versifying would result in mere chaos. But Milton's ear is so delicate, that he steers unfaltering through the long, involved passages, distributing the pauses and rests with a cunning which knits the paragraph into a coherent, regulated whole. He combines, in fact, the two essential qualities of blank verse—freedom and form: the freedom that admits variety of effect, without which a long narrative becomes intolerably monotonous; and the form which saves an unrhymed measure from drifting into that which is nearer to bad prose than to good verse.

Analysis of the metrical principles on which his lines are based is a thorny matter; but without attempting to go fully into

¹ Cf. the passage from *Gorboduc*, quoted later on.

*Rhythm and
balance of his
paragraphs.*

a subject whereon critics of equal competence hold very dissimilar opinions, we may note a few points, to remember which is to have a key to some of the apparent difficulties of his scansion. First, be it recollected that the quantitative system of metre with which the works of Greek and Latin poets familiarise us does not apply in English. The metrical effects of English verse rest on the principle of accent; and it is convenient to regard an accented or stressed syllable as long—an unaccented or unstressed syllable as short. Secondly, the typical blank verse is a line of five iambic feet: that is, of ten syllables, with five accents or stresses falling on the even numbers, i.e. on syllables 2, 4, 6, 8, 10. These are typical examples:

*The iambic
basis of blank
verse.*

“Here Lóve his gólden sháfts emplóys, here lights
His cónstant lámp, and wáves his púrple wings¹.”

In its early days, as understood and practised by some pre-Shakespearian writers, blank verse conformed rigidly to this type. “Surely,” complained Gascoigne² in 1575, “I can lament that wee are fallen into suche a playne and simple manner of wryting, that there is none other foote vsed but one. But since it is so...[let] all the wordes in your verse be so placed as the first sillable may sound short or be depressed, the second long or cleuate, the third shorte, the fourth long, the fifth shorte, etc.”

That this was the accepted notion of blank verse may be seen from an extract from the piece which enjoys the honour of being the first specimen of English classical tragedy—*Gorboduc* (1561):

“Why should I live and linger forth my time,
In longer life to double my distress?
O me most woeful wight! whom no mishap
Long ere this day could have bereaved hence:

¹ *P. L.* IV. 763, 764.

² *Certaine Notes of Instruction in English Verse*, 1575 (Arber's ed. p. 34).

Mought not these hands by fortune or by fate
Have pierced this breast, and life with iron reft¹?"

And so on, through scene after scene.

No one who recalls the history of blank verse will be surprised that it should have been of this strict iambic type. The impulse to abandon rhyme and to substitute a blank or unrhymed measure was a phase of the classicism fostered by the Renaissance.

The use of unrhymed metre due to classical influence.

The standard to which critics appealed then at every turn was the practice of the Greeks and Romans; and it was under this classical tyranny that certain critics and scholar-poets surrendered the native principle of rhyme, and evolved a monotonous iambic line—the "pure iambic" as Campion calls it—which was considered to be a good substitute for the Greek senarius. True, the Greek senarius was a foot longer, and admitted other feet than the iambus; but the Elizabethan critics deemed that their decasyllabic line, with its five unvarying accents, was a very tolerable equivalent for the metre of Sophocles and Euripides. Saith Ascham in the *Schoolmaster* (1570), "I am sure, our English tong will receive *carmen Iambicum* as naturallie, as either *Greke* or *Latin*." So thought others: and for a brief while *carmen iambicum* had much vogue. But public taste soon rebelled against this single-foot measure, and then there came into being the "licentiate iambic²:" that is, a measure in which the iambic predominated, but which permitted the presence of other feet—notably the trochee. In the hands of the dramatists—to Marlowe be the chief honour given—this "licentiate iambic" developed into blank verse.

Now that Milton's blank verse is "licentiate"—in that it admits *dissyllabic* feet which are not iambi—few critics, I opine, would dispute. Let us glance at these *dissyllabic*, non-iambic, feet.

Dissyllabic variations from the iambic type in Milton.

A dissyllabic foot may be of four kinds: an

¹ Videna's speech at the beginning of Act iv.—one of the most vigorous in the play.

² The phrase is Thomas Campion's (*Art of English Poesie*, 1602—see Haslewood, II. 168).

iambus=a short syllable followed by a long; a trochee=long followed by a short; a spondee=two longs; a pyrrhic=two shorts. Examples of dissyllabic variations are not far to seek. Here are lines with trochees in the italicised parts:

*His use of
Trochees.*

"*Rise out* | of chaos: or if Sion hill¹."

"In the | *visions* | of God. It was a hill²."

"On a sunbeam | *swift as* | a shooting star³."

"Instruct me, for thou know'st; | *thou from* | the first⁴."

"Which of us who beholds the bright | *surface*⁵."

It will be seen that a trochee is admitted in any foot of the verse; but it is most common in the first, giving the line a vigorous impetus; less common in the third and fourth places; rare in the second, and very rare in the fifth⁶. Sometimes we have two trochees in the same line—these being examples:

"*uni*|*versal* | reproach, far worse to bear⁷."

"*uni*|*versal*|ly adorned with highest praises⁸."

Of Spondees. Here, again, are instances of a spondaic rhythm⁹:

"*Wide-rav*|*ing*, all approach far off to fright¹⁰."

"*Hail Son* | of the | *Most High* |, heir of both worlds¹¹."

¹ *P. L.* I. 10.

² XI. 377.

³ IV. 556.

⁴ I. 19.

⁵ VI. 472.

⁶ My authority is Mr Bridges. He treats these trochaic feet as "inversions of rhythm;" but as they are really trochees, it seems simpler to call them accordingly. I believe that one of the first writers to admit the trochee into blank verse was Marlowe; he limits it to the first, third and fourth feet. In Shakespeare, as in Milton, it occurs in all five, though oftenest in the first. It generally comes after a pause or an emphasised monosyllable, and emphasises the sense of the word on which the accent is so shifted. For double trochees in Shakespeare, cf., perhaps, *Cymbeline*, I. 3. 7, "*Senseless* | *hues*! | happier therein than I"; and *Comedy of Errors*, I. 1. 151, "*Therefore*, | *merchant*, | I'll limit thee this day." (Abbott's *Shakespearian Gram.* pp. 328—330.)

⁷ *P. L.* VI. 34.

⁸ *Samson Agonistes*, 175.

⁹ "I perpetually find in Milton's verse a foot for which 'Spondee' is the best name, and it would be difficult to characterise many of his lines otherwise than by calling them Spondaic" (Masson).

¹⁰ XI. 121.

¹¹ *P. R.* IV. 633.

As a pyrrhic consists of two short or unaccented syllables, it is obvious that any line in which one occurs must contain less than the normal number of five accents. *Of Pyrrhus*

This failure of accent is not uncommon in Shakespeare and Milton. Dr Abbott thinks that of Shakespeare's lines "rather less than one of three has the full number of five emphatic accents." I doubt whether the instances are so frequent in Milton; but they are sufficiently common to make it desirable to remember that five stresses are not essential to a blank verse—rather that for variety sake it is necessary that one or more should be occasionally remitted. The following examples show that this may occur in any¹ of the first four feet:

"*W^hether upheld by strength, or chance, or fate²."*

"*Productive in herb, plant, and nobler birth³."*

"*Yet fell: rememb^r, and fear to transgress⁴."*

"*Before the Heavens⁵ thou wert, and at the voice⁶."*

In the fifth foot there must be some accent, as the last syllable derives a certain stress from the mere fact that it marks the close of the line. Sometimes there is a double failure of accent in the same verse, leaving it with only three stresses; compare the line, "*His minis^ters of vengeance and pursuit⁷."* The percentage of such verses in Shakespeare is about 7.

The question of Milton's use of *trisyllabic* feet—anapaests, dactyls and the like—is more difficult. Where scansion depends not on the fixed quantity of *Trisyllabic variations.* syllables but on a thing so undefined and unfixed as accent there must be difference of opinion. It seems to me clear that he does admit trisyllabic feet into his blank verse, but I do not think that the trisyllabic element is very great.

¹ They occur rarely in the first foot, most commonly in the fourth.

² *P. L.* I. 133.

³ *IX.* 111.

⁴ *VI.* 912.

⁵ Note that *Heaven* is constantly treated as a monosyllable; cf. even the *prose* draft of *Adam unparadis'd*, line 3 (p. xxxviii). Another important because frequent abbreviation occurs with *spirit*, which is often monosyllabic; cf. the form *sprite*.

⁶ *III.* 9.

⁷ *I.* 170.

I believe, rather, that many* apparently trisyllabic feet were really meant by him to be dissyllabic and must be scanned as such by the application of one or other of the two principles of *elision*¹ and *contraction*.

Elisions in Milton's blank verse.
Elision comprehends not merely the cases where a vowel or syllable must be dropped altogether in pronunciation, but those numerous cases where the metre shows that a vowel or syllable possesses *something* less than its normal quantitative value, so that it is either slurred, or made almost to coalesce with a preceding or succeeding sound. Here are the commoner elisions.

(i) "Syllables," says Dr Abbott², "ending in vowels are frequently elided before vowels in reading, though not in writing." This applies largely to monosyllables—prepositions, pronouns, adverbs, and, in particular, the definite article. It explains the scansion of lines like :

"To sound at general doom. The angelic blast³."

"Who highly thus to entitle me vouchsaf'st⁴."

"Thou lead'st me, and to the band of Heaven submit⁵."

(ii) An unaccented vowel preceding an accented vowel or diphthong may be elided—in poetry as in colloquial speech. This applies to substantival endings such as *ience*, *ion*—cf. 'patience,' 'visitation'; and to adjectival endings such as *ial*,

¹ For instance an apparent anapaest (—) may often be resolved by elision into an iambus (—), or a dactyl (—) into a trochee (—). Thus in the line "Thorns also and thistles it shall bring forth," if we elide (as I should) the open vowel *o* in 'also' before the following vowel we get an iambus in the second foot—"Thorns al|s(o) and this|tles"; and applying the same principle to the line "Onl(y) in | a bottom saw a pleasant grove," we get a trochee in the first foot. Yet, according to Dr Masson, who rejects such elisions, the former of these two feet is an anapaest and the latter a dactyl.

² *Shakespearean Grammar*, p. 344.

³ xi. 76. The elision in these cases is indicated by the autograph manuscripts of Milton's poems; thus in the *Lycidas* ms. line 33 reads—"Temper'd to th' oaten flute." If Milton elided 'the' in *Lycidas*, we may suppose that he did so in *P. L.* ⁴ xi. 170. ⁵ xi. 372.

iant, ious, cious—cf. 'ambrosial,' 'radiant,' 'tedious,' 'bounteous.' Such elisions belong to the currency of every-day speech, and scarce need comment. They are, obviously, very numerous.

(iii) Similarly, an unaccented vowel or syllable following an accented vowel or diphthong may be elided: this applies to words like 'power,' 'flower'—'piety,' 'fiery'—and participles such as 'seeing,' 'being,' 'flying.' It clears up the scansion in:

"Is piety thus | and pure devotion paid¹?"

"Then through | the fiery pillar and the cloud²."

"Half flying | ; behoves | him now both oar and sail³."

"He ceased | ; and the Archangelic power | prepared⁴."

(iv) The elision of an unaccented vowel followed by pure *r* is common in Shakespeare and Milton; the combination *er*⁵ is most affected thus, especially in participles, e.g. 'glistening,' 'suffering,' 'differing.' So in 'reverence,' 'feverous,' 'temperance'; and in the combinations *or* and *ur*—cf. 'pastoral,' 'amorous,' 'unnatural,' 'disfiguring.' Shakespeare and Milton extend the practice to double vowels, as in 'conqueror' (cf. *Julius Cæsar* v. 5. 55) and 'neighbouring' (cf. 1 *Henry IV.* III. 1. 90). Many words come under this system.

(v) Mr Bridges notes that a similar elision occurs when an unaccented vowel is followed by pure *l*—as in 'popular,' 'popularious'—or even by *ll*;

(vi) and also before *n*—especially with adjectives like 'luminous,' 'ominous⁶,' and participles like 'reasoning,' 'loosening' (cf. *P. L.* vi. 643), 'enlightening⁷.' The abbreviation of participles thus has become almost the current rule.

Contraction plays a great part in Milton's scansion. Four contractions of the inflections of verbs are specially noticeable and important, these being:—(i) the *'st* *Contractions.*

¹ XI. 452.

² XII. 208.

³ II. 942.

⁴ XI. 126.

⁵ Cf. again the *Lycidas* MS., where we have such elided forms as *watrie*=watery, 12, *westring*=westering, 31; and *wandering* in the *Comus* MS., 39; and *toured* in the *Arcades* MS., 21. With these examples before us it is easy to see how Milton scanned, say, *P. L.* XI. 779, "*Wandering* that *watery* desert; I had hope."

⁶ Cf. II. 123.

⁷ Cf. *battning*=battening, *Lycidas* MS., 29.

of the 2nd person singular, indicative present ; (ii) the 'd of the perfect ; (iii) the 'd of the past participle ; (iv) and the 'n of the past participle, as in 'fall'n'='fallen', 'giv'n'='given' &c. Any one who has studied the MSS. of Milton's poems will have observed how careful he is to omit the vowel where the scansion requires the contracted form. Thus, to take the first of these contractions, in the autograph (among the Trinity papers) of the *Sonnet* addressed to Henry Lawes, we find such examples as "Thou honour'st vers," "to honour thee...that tun'st thir happiest lines"; and instances might be multiplied. Indeed, Milton sometimes uses the contracted form when the effect seems distinctly awkward. Again, on the first page of the *Lycidas* MS. we meet with participial abbreviations like 'forc't' (4), 'destin'd' (20), 'nur'st' (23), 'stoop't' (31); and perfects like 'danc't' (34), 'lov'd' (36), 'clos'd' (51). Even in prose Milton appears to have employed the abbreviated no less readily than the full forms. Compare the draft of *Adam unparadis'd*.

That these methods—perfectly regular methods—of contraction² affect the scansion of an enormous number of lines, each can verify for himself; and I think that most students of *Paradise Lost* will come to the conclusion that the iambic rhythm forms the basis of Milton's blank verse. This rhythm is varied, however, (1) by the admission of feet other than iambi, and (2) by the distribution of the pauses³.

One peculiarity of the metre of *Paradise Lost*, pointed out by Coleridge, is the rarity of verses with an extra syllable (or two extra syllables) at the close. Verses with an extra syllable. Shakspeare uses them freely—especially in his later plays, and the percentage of them in *Comus* and *Samson Agonistes* is high. But in *Paradise Lost* Milton avoids them.

¹ Spelt *falm* in one of the prose sketches (*Isaac redeemed*) among the Trinity MSS. So in line 2 of the second *Sonnet* the MS. has *stolne*.

² Contractions such as *e'en*=*even*, *e'er*=*ever*, *o'er*=*over* scarcely require comment; *whether*=*wh'er* (i.e. monosyllabic) is more noticeable.

³ Cf. Milton's own phrase "*Variously drawn out*" (*Preface* on "The Verse" of *Paradise Lost*,

There are several varieties of this extra-syllable verse—e.g. lines where (i) the supernumerary syllable comes at the close ; (ii) where it comes in the course of the line, particularly after the second foot ; (iii) where there are two extra syllables at the end, as in the line, "Like one | that means | his pro|per harm | in máncles" (*Coriolanus* I. 9. 57) ; and (iv) where there are two extra syllables in the middle, as in *Coriolanus*, I. 1. 230, "Our must|y su|perflu|ity | . See our | best elders." In *Comus* there are examples of all four varieties : in *Paradise Lost* of only two¹—(i) and (iii). This is a fresh illustration of what we have just seen—that the metre of the epic is mainly iambic, and consequently decasyllabic in character. Such verse has a slower, statelier movement, and is therefore appropriate to a narrative poem that deals with the loftiest themes in an elevated, solemn style. Verse, on the other hand, that admits the supernumerary syllable at the close of the line tends towards a conversational rapidity of rhythm which makes it suitable for the purposes of the dramatist. It is typical of Milton's "inevitable," almost infallible, art that he should vary his style according to the several characteristics and requirements of the drama and of epic narration.

As he lays such stress upon the internal economy and balance of his verse-paragraphs, much must depend on the pause or rest which in English *The pause or cæsura* prosody answers, to some extent, to the classical *cæsura*. Dr Masson notes that Milton's favourite pause is at the end of the third foot. These are typical specimens :

"I, at first, with two fair gifts
Created him endowed | —with happiness
And immortality ; | that fondly lost,
This other served but to eternize woe,
Till I provided death : | so death becomes
His final remedy²." |

¹ In most of the cases of *one* extra syllable it is a present participle that is affected. I believe that the cases with *two* such syllables are—in Milton—confined to words like *society* ; cf. *P. R.* I. 302, "Such solitude before choicest *society*."

² XI. 57—62.

Next in frequency comes the pause after the second foot ; cf.

“ ere fallen

From innocence¹. ” |

“ Made one with me, | as I with thee am one². ”

Scarcely need we say that in this, as in everything else, Milton never forgets that variety of effect is essential.

It remains to note two remarks made by Milton in his preface on *The Verse*. One of the elements, he says, of “ true musical delight ” is “ fit quantity of syllables. ” By this, I think, he meant that every word should bear its *natural* accent, i.e. that a word should not be forced by the exigence of the metre to bear an accent alien to it. Rather, a poet should be careful to “ span with just note and accent³, ” so that each stress should fall naturally, and the “ fit quantity ” of the component parts of a line not be violated. Considering the length of *Paradise Lost*, it is marvellous how he maintains an unflinching appropriateness of accent. Again, another element of the pleasure offered by poetry lies in “ apt numbers. ” Here he referred to that adaptation of rhythm to subject whereby the sound becomes an echo to the sense. No one has understood the art of blending the thought with its expression better than Milton. “ What other poets effect, ” says Dr Guest⁴, “ as it were by chance, Milton achieved by the aid of science and art ; he studied the aptness of his numbers, and diligently tutored an ear which nature had gifted with the most delicate sensibility. In the flow of his rhythm, in the quality of his letter sounds, in the disposition of his pauses, his verse almost ever fits the subject, and so insensibly does poetry blend with this—the last beauty of exquisite versification—that the reader may sometimes doubt whether it be the thought itself, or merely the happiness of its expression, which is the source of a gratification so deeply felt. ”

*Accent and
rhythm in
Milton.*

¹ XI. 30.

³ *Sonnet* to Henry Lawes.

² XI. 44.

⁴ *English Rhythms*, p. 530.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK VII.

THE ARGUMENT.

Raphael, at the request of Adam, relates how and wherefore this World was first created: that God, after the expelling of Satan and his Angels out of Heaven, declared his pleasure to create another World, and other creatures to dwell therein; sends his Son with glory, and attendance of Angels, to perform the work of creation in six days: the Angels celebrate with hymns the performance thereof, and his reascension into Heaven.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK VII.

DESCEND from Heaven, Urania, by that name
If rightly thou art called, whose voice divine
Following, above the Olympian hill I soar,
Above the flight of Pegasean wing!
The meaning, not the name, I call; for thou
Nor of the Muses nine, nor on the top
Of old Olympus dwell'st; but Heavenly-born,
Before the hills appeared or fountain flowed,
Thou with eternal Wisdom didst converse,
Wisdom thy sister, and with her didst play 10
In presence of the Almighty Father, pleased
With thy celestial song. Up led by thee,
Into the Heaven of Heavens I have presumed,
An earthly guest, and drawn empyreal air,
Thy tempering: with like safety guided down,
Return me to my native element;
Lest from this flying steed unreined (as once
Bellerophon, though from a lower clime)
Dismounted, on the Aleian field I fall,
Erroneous there to wander and forlorn. 20
Half yet remains unsung, but narrower bound
Within the visible diurnal sphere.

Standing on Earth, not rapt above the pole,
More safe I sing with mortal voice, unchanged
To hoarse or mute, though fallen on evil days,
On evil days though fallen, and evil tongues;
In darkness, and with dangers compassed round,
And solitude; yet not alone, while thou
Visit'st my slumbers nightly, or when morn
Purples the east. Still govern thou my song, 30
Urania, and fit audience find, though few;
But drive far off the barbarous dissonance
Of Bacchus and his revellers, the race
Of that wild rout that tore the Thracian bard
In Rhodope, where woods and rocks had ears
To rapture, till the savage clamour drowned
Both harp and voice; nor could the Muse defend
Her son. So fail not thou who thee implores;
For thou art Heavenly, she an empty dream.

Say, Goddess, what ensued when Raphael, 40
The affable Archangel, had forewarned
Adam by dire example to beware
Apostasy, by what befell in Heaven
To those apostates, lest the like befall
In Paradise to Adam or his race,
Charged not to touch the interdicted Tree,
If they transgress, and slight that sole command,
So easily obeyed amid the choice
Of all tastes else to please their appetite,
Though wandering. He with his consorted Eve 50
The story heard attentive, and was filled
With admiration and deep muse, to hear
Of things so high and strange, things to their thought
So unimaginable as hate in Heaven,
And war so near the peace of God in bliss,

With such confusion ; but the evil, soon
Driven back, redounded as a flood on those
From whom it sprung, impossible to mix
With blessedness. Whence Adam soon repealed
The doubts that in his heart arose ; and now 60
Led on, yet sinless, with desire to know
What nearer might concern him, how this World
Of Heaven and Earth conspicuous first began ;
When, and whereof, created ; for what cause ;
What within Eden, or without, was done
Before his memory—as one whose drouth
Yet scarce allayed still eyes the current stream,
Whose liquid murmur heard new thirst excites—
Proceeded thus to ask his Heavenly guest :

“Great things, and full of wonder in our ears, 70
Far differing from this World, thou hast revealed,
Divine interpreter ! by favour sent
Down from the Empyrean to forewarn
Us timely of what might else have been our loss,
Unknown, which human knowledge could not reach ;
For which to the infinitely Good we owe
Immortal thanks, and his admonishment
Receive with solemn purpose to observe
Immutably his sovran will, the end
Of what we are. But, since thou hast vouchsafed 80
Gently, for our instruction, to impart
Things above earthly thought, which yet concerned
Our knowing, as to highest Wisdom seemed,
Deign to descend now lower, and relate
What may no less perhaps avail us known :
How first began this heaven which we behold
Distant so high, with moving fires adorned
Innumerable ; and this which yields or fills

All space, the ambient air wide interfused,
Embracing round this florid Earth; what cause 90
Moved the Creator, in his holy rest
Through all eternity, so late to build
In Chaos; and the work begun how soon
Absolved; if unforbid thou may'st unfold
What we not to explore the secrets ask
Of his eternal empire, but the more
To magnify his works the more we know.
And the great light of day yet wants to run
Much of his race, though steep; suspense in heaven,
Held by thy voice, thy potent voice, he hears, 100
And longer will delay to hear thee tell
His generation, and the rising birth
Of Nature from the unapparent Deep;
Or if the star of evening and the moon
Haste to thy audience, Night with her will bring
Silence, and Sleep listening to thee will watch;
Or we can bid his absence till thy song
End, and dismiss thee ere the morning shine."

Thus Adam his illustrious guest besought;
And thus the godlike Angel answered mild: 110
"This also thy request, with caution asked,
Obtain; though to recount almighty works
What words or tongue of Seraph can suffice,
Or heart of man suffice to comprehend?
Yet what thou canst attain, which best may serve
To glorify the Maker, and infer
Thee also happier, shall not be withheld
Thy hearing; such commission from above
I have received, to answer thy desire
Of knowledge within bounds; beyond abstain 120
To ask, nor let thine own inventions hope

Things not revealed, which the invisible King,
Only omniscient, hath suppressed in night,
To none communicable in Earth or Heaven :
Enough is left besides to search and know.
But knowledge is as food, and needs no less
Her temperance over appetite, to know
In measure what the mind may well contain ;
Oppresses else with surfeit, and soon turns
Wisdom to folly, as nourishment to wind. 130

“Know then that after Lucifer from Heaven
(So call him, brighter once amidst the host
Of Angels than that star the stars among)
Fell with his flaming legions through the Deep
Into his place, and the great Son returned
Victorious with his Saints, the omnipotent
Eternal Father from his throne beheld
Their multitude, and to his Son thus spake :

““At least our envious foe hath failed, who thought
All like himself rebellious ; by whose aid 140
This inaccessible high strength, the seat
Of Deity supreme, us dispossessed,
He trusted to have seized, and into fraud
Drew many whom their place knows here no more :
Yet far the greater part have kept, I see,
Their station ; Heaven, yet populous, retains
Number sufficient to possess her realms
Though wide, and this high temple to frequent
With ministeries due and solemn rites.
But lest his heart exalt him in the harm 150
Already done, to have dispeopled Heaven—
My damage fondly deemed—I can repair
That detriment, if such it be to lose
Self-lost, and in a moment will create

Another world, out of one man a race
Of men innumerable, there to dwell,
Not here, till, by degrees of merit raised,
They open to themselves at length the way
Up hither, under long obedience tried,
And Earth be changed to Heaven, and Heaven to Earth, 160
One kingdom, joy and union without end.
Meanwhile inhabit lax, ye Powers of Heaven;
And thou, my Word, begotten Son, by thee
This I perform; speak thou, and be it done!
My overshadowing Spirit and might with thee
I send along; ride forth, and bid the Deep
Within appointed bounds be Heaven and Earth;
Boundless the Deep, because I am who fill
Infinitude; nor vacuous the space,
Though I uncircumscribed myself retire, 170
And put not forth my goodness, which is free
To act or not: Necessity and Chance
Approach not me, and what I will is Fate.'

"So spake the Almighty, and to what he spake
His Word, the filial Godhead, gave effect.
Immediate are the acts of God, more swift
Than time or motion, but to human ears
Cannot without process of speech be told,
So told as earthly notion can receive.
Great triumph and rejoicing was in Heaven, 180
When such was heard declared the Almighty's will;
Glory they sung to the Most High, good-will
To future men, and in their dwellings peace;
Glory to Him whose just avenging ire
Had driven out the ungodly from his sight
And the habitations of the just; to Him
Glory and praise whose wisdom had ordained

Good out of evil to create ; instead
 Of Spirits malign, a better race to bring
 Into their vacant room, and thence diffuse 190
 His good to worlds and ages infinite.

“So sang the Hierarchies. Meanwhile the Son
 On his great expedition now appeared,
 Girt with omnipotence, with radiance crowned
 Of majesty divine, sapience and love
 Immense ; and all his Father in him shone.
 About his chariot numberless were poured
 Cherub and Seraph, Potentates and Thrones,
 And Virtues, winged Spirits, and chariots winged
 From the armoury of God, where stand of old 200
 Myriads, between two brazen mountains lodged
 Against a solemn day, harnessed at hand,
 Celestial equipage ; and now came forth
 Spontaneous, for within them Spirit lived,
 Attendant on their Lord. Heaven opened wide
 Her ever-during gates, harmonious sound
 On golden hinges moving, to let forth
 The King of Glory, in his powerful Word
 And Spirit coming to create new worlds.
 On Heavenly ground they stood, and from the shore 210
 They viewed the vast immeasurable Abyss,
 Outrageous as a sea, dark, wasteful, wild,
 Up from the bottom turned by furious winds
 And surging waves, as mountains, to assault
 Heaven’s highth, and with the centre mix the pole.

“‘Silence, ye troubled waves, and, thou Deep, peace!’
 Said then the omnific Word. ‘your discord end!’
 Nor stayed ; but, on the wings of Cherubim
 Uplifted, in paternal glory rode
 Far into Chaos and the World unborn, 220

For Chaos heard his voice. Him all his train
Followed in bright procession, to behold
Creation, and the wonders of his might.
Then stayed the fervid wheels and in his hand
He took the golden compasses, prepared
In God's eternal store, to circumscribe
This Universe, and all created things.
One foot he centred, and the other turned
Round through the vast profundity obscure,
And said, 'Thus far extend, thus far thy bounds; 230
This be thy just circumference, O World!'
Thus God the heaven created, thus the Earth,
Matter unformed and void. Darkness profound
Covered the Abyss; but on the watery calm
His brooding wings the Spirit of God outspread,
And vital virtue infused, and vital warmth,
Throughout the fluid mass, but downward purged
The black, tartareous, cold, infernal dregs,
Adverse to life; then founded, then conglobed
Like things to like, the rest to several place 240
Disparted, and between spun out the air,
And Earth, self-balanced, on her centre hung.

“‘Let there be light!’ said God; and forthwith light
Ethereal, first of things, quintessence pure,
Sprung from the Deep, and from her native east
To journey through the aery gloom began,
Sphered in a radiant cloud, for yet the sun
Was not; she in a cloudy tabernacle
Sojourned the while. God saw the light was good;
And light from darkness by the hemisphere 250
Divided: light the Day, and darkness Night,
He named. Thus was the first day even and morn;
Nor passed uncelebrated, nor unsung

By the celestial quires, when orient light
Exhaling first from darkness they beheld,
Birth-day of Heaven and Earth; with joy and shout
The hollow universal orb they filled,
And touched their golden harps, and hymning praised
God and his works; Creator him they sung,
Both when first evening was, and when first morn. 260

“Again, God said, ‘Let there be firmament
Amid the waters, and let it divide
The waters from the waters!’ And God made
The firmament, expanse of liquid, pure,
Transparent, elemental air, diffused
In circuit to the uttermost convex
Of this great round—partition firm and sure,
The waters underneath from those above
Dividing; for as Earth, so he the World
Built on circumfluous waters calm, in wide 270
Crystalline ocean, and the loud misrule
Of Chaos far removed, lest fierce extremes
Contiguous might distemper the whole frame:
And heaven he named the firmament. So even
And morning chorus sung the second day.

“The Earth was formed, but, in the womb as yet
Of waters, embryo, immature, involved,
Appeared not; over all the face of Earth
Main ocean flowed, not idle, but, with warm
Prolific humour softening all her globe, 280
Fermented the great mother to conceive,
Sate with genial moisture; when God said,
‘Be gathered now, ye waters under heaven,
Into one place, and let dry land appear!’
Immediately the mountains huge appear
Emergent, and their broad bare backs upheave

Into the clouds ; their tops ascend the sky.
So high as heaved the tumid hills, so low
Down sunk a hollow bottom, broad and deep,
Capacious bed of waters ; thither they 290
Hasted with glad precipitance, uprolled,
As drops on dust conglobing from the dry ;
Part rise in crystal wall, or ridge direct,
For haste ; such flight the great command impressed
On the swift floods. As armies at the call
Of trumpet (for of armies thou hast heard)
Troop to the standard, so the watery throng,
Wave rolling after wave, where way they found :
If steep, with torrent rapture, if through plain,
Soft-ebbing ; nor withstood them rock or hill ; 300
But they, or underground, or circuit wide
With serpent error wandering, found their way,
And on the washy ooze deep channels wore ;
Easy, ere God had bid the ground be dry,
All but within those banks where rivers now
Stream, and perpetual draw their humid train.
The dry land Earth, and the great receptacle
Of congregated waters he called seas ;
And saw that it was good, and said, ' Let the Earth
Put forth the verdant grass, herb yielding seed, 310
And fruit-tree yielding fruit after her kind,
Whose seed is in herself upon the Earth !'
He scarce had said when the bare Earth, till then
Desert and bare, unsightly, unadorned,
Brought forth the tender grass, whose verdure clad
Her universal face with pleasant green ;
Then herbs of every leaf, that sudden flowered,
Opening their various colours, and made gay
Her bosom, smelling sweet ; and, these scarce blown,

Forth flourished thick the clustering vine, forth crept 320
The smelling gourd, up stood the corny reed
Embattled in her field: add the humble shrub,
And bush with frizzled hair implicit: last
Rose, as in dance, the stately trees, and spread
Their branches hung with copious fruit, or gemmed
Their blossoms. With high woods the hills were crowned,
With tufts the valleys and each fountain-side,
With borders long the rivers; that Earth now
Seemed like to Heaven, a seat where gods might dwell,
Or wander with delight, and love to haunt 330
Her sacred shades; though God had yet not rained
Upon the Earth, and man to till the ground
None was, but from the Earth a dewy mist
Went up and watered all the ground, and each
Plant of the field, which ere it was in the Earth
God made, and every herb, before it grew
On the green stem. God saw that it was good;
So even and morn recorded the third day.

“Again the Almighty spake, ‘Let there be lights
High in the expanse of heaven, to divide 340
The day from night; and let them be for signs,
For seasons, and for days, and circling years;
And let them be for lights, as I ordain
Their office in the firmament of heaven,
To give light on the Earth!’ and it was so.
And God made two great lights, great for their use
To Man, the greater to have rule by day,
The less by night, altern, and made the stars,
And set them in the firmament of heaven
To illuminate the Earth, and rule the day 350
In their vicissitude, and rule the night,
And light from darkness to divide. God saw,

Surveying his great work, that it was good:
For, of celestial bodies, first the sun
A mighty sphere he framed, unlightsome first,
Though of ethereal mould; then formed the moon
Globose, and every magnitude of stars,
And sowed with stars the heaven thick as a field.
Of light by far the greater part he took,
Transplanted from her cloudy shrine, and placed 360
In the sun's orb, made porous to receive
And drink the liquid light, firm to retain
Her gathered beams, great palace now of light.
Hither, as to their fountain, other stars
Repairing, in their golden urns draw light,
And hence the morning planet gilds her horns;
By tincture or reflection they augment
Their small peculiar, though, from human sight
So far remote, with diminution seen.
First in his east the glorious lamp was seen, 370
Regent of day, and all the horizon round
Invested with bright rays, jocund to run
His longitude through heaven's high road; the grey
Dawn, and the Pleiades, before him danced,
Shedding sweet influence. Less bright the moon,
But opposite in levelled west, was set,
His mirror, with full face borrowing her light
From him; for other light she needed none
In that aspect, and still that distance keeps 380
Till night; then in the east her turn she shines,
Revolved on heaven's great axle, and her reign
With thousand lesser lights dividual holds,
With thousand thousand stars, that then appeared
Spangling the hemisphere. Then first adorned
With her bright luminaries, that set and rose,

Glad evening and glad morn crowned the fourth day.

“And God said, ‘Let the waters generate
Reptile with spawn abundant, living soul;
And let fowl fly above the Earth, with wings
Displayed on the open firmament of heaven!’ 390
And God created the great whales, and each
Soul living, each that crept, which plenteously
The waters generated by their kinds,
And every bird of wing after his kind;
And saw that it was good, and blessed them, saying,
‘Be fruitful, multiply, and in the seas,
And lakes, and running streams, the waters fill;
And let the fowl be multiplied on the Earth!’
Forthwith the sounds and seas, each creek and bay,
With fry innumerable swarm, and shoals 400
Of fish that with their fins and shining scales
Glide under the green wave in sculls that oft
Bank the mid-sea Part, single or with mate,
Graze the sea-weed, their pasture, and through groves
Of coral stray, or, sporting with quick glance,
Show to the sun their waved coats dropt with gold;
Or, in their pearly shells at ease, attend
Moist nutriment, or under rocks their food
In jointed armour watch; on smooth the seal
And bended dolphins play; part, huge of bulk, 410
Wallowing unwieldy, enormous in their gait,
Tempest the ocean. There leviathan,
Hugest of living creatures, on the deep
Stretched like a promontory, sleeps or swims,
And seems a moving land, and at his gills
Draws in, and at his trunk spouts out, a sea.
Meanwhile the tepid caves, and fens, and shores,
Their brood as numerous hatch from the egg, that soon,

Bursting with kindly rupture, forth disclosed
Their callow young ; but feathered soon and fledge 420
They summed their pens, and, soaring the air sublime,
With clang despised the ground, under a cloud
In prospect. There the eagle and the stork
On cliffs and cedar-tops their cyries build.
Part loosely wing the region ; part more wise,
In common, ranged in figure, wedge their way,
Intelligent of seasons, and set forth
Their aery caravan, high over seas
Flying, and over lands, with mutual wing
Easing their flight ; so steers the prudent crane 430
Her annual voyage, borne on winds ; the air
Floats as they pass, fanned with unnumbered plumes.
From branch to branch the smaller birds with song
Solaced the woods, and spread their painted wings,
'Till even ; nor then the solemn nightingale
Ceased warbling, but all night tuned her soft lays.
Others, on silver lakes and rivers, bathed
'Their downy breast ; the swan, with arched neck
Between her white wings mantling proudly, rows
Her state with oary feet ; yet oft they quit 440
The dank, and, rising on stiff pennons, tower
'The mid aerial sky. Others on ground
Walked firm : the crested cock whose clarion sounds
'The silent hours, and the other whose gay train
Adorns him, coloured with the florid hue
Of rainbows and starry eyes. 'The waters thus
With fish replenished, and the air with fowl,
Evening and morn solemnized the fifth day.

“The sixth, and of Creation last, arose
With evening harps and matin ; when God said, 450
'Let the Earth bring forth soul living in her kind,

Cattle, and creeping things, and beast of the Earth,
 Each in their kind !' The Earth obeyed, and straight,
 Opening her fertile womb, teemed at a birth
 Innumerable living creatures, perfect forms,
 Limbed and full-grown. Out of the ground up rose,
 As from his lair, the wild beast, where he wons
 In forest wild, in thicket, brake, or den ;
 Among the trees in pairs they rose, they walked ;
 The cattle in the fields and meadows green : 460
 Those rare and solitary, these in flocks
 Pasturing at once, and in broad herds upsprung.
 The grassy clods now calved ; now half appeared
 The tawny lion, pawing to get free
 His hinder parts, then springs, as broke from bonds,
 And rampant shakes his brinded mane, the ounce,
 The libbard, and the tiger, as the mole
 Rising, the crumbled earth above them threw
 In hillocks ; the swift stag from underground
 Bore up his branching head, scarce from his mould 470
 Behemoth, biggest born of earth, upheaved
 His vastness ; fleeced the flocks and bleating rose,
 As plants ; ambiguous between sea and land,
 The river-horse and scaly crocodile.
 At once came forth whatever creeps the ground,
 Insect or worm. Those waved their lumber fans
 For wings, and smallest lineaments exact
 In all the liveries decked of summer's pride,
 With spots of gold and purple, azure and green ;
 These as a line their long dimension drew, 480
 Streaking the ground with sinuous trace : not all
 Minims of nature ; some of serpent kind,
 Wondrous in length and corpulence, involved
 Their snaky folds, and added wings. First crept

The parsimonious cmmet, provident
Of future, in small room large heart enclosed ;
Pattern of just equality perhaps
Hereafter, joined in her popular tribes
Of commonalty. Swarming next appeared
The female bee, that feeds her husband drone 490
Deliciously, and builds her waxen cells
With honey stored. The rest are numberless,
And thou their natures know'st, and gav'st them names,
Needless to thee repeated ; nor unknown
The serpent, subtlest beast of all the field,
Of huge extent sometimes, with brazen eyes
And hairy mane terrific, though to thee
Not noxious, but obedient at thy call.

“Now Heaven in all her glory shone, and rolled
Her motions, as the great First Mover's hand 500
First wheeled their course ; Earth in her rich attire
Consummate lovely smiled ; air, water, earth,
By fowl, fish, beast, was flown, was swum, was walked,
Frequent ; and of the sixth day yet remained.
There wanted yet the master-work, the end
Of all yet done ; a creature who, not prone
And brute as other creatures, but endued
With sanctity of reason, might erect
His stature, and upright with front serene
Govern the rest, self-knowing, and from thence 510
Magnanimous to correspond with Heaven,
But grateful to acknowledge whence his good
Descends ; thither with heart, and voice, and eyes,
Directed in devotion, to adore
And worship God supreme, who made him chief
Of all his works. Therefore the omnipotent
Eternal Father (for where is not he

Present?) thus to his Son audibly spake :

“‘Let us make now Man in our image, Man
 In our similitude, and let them rule 520
 Over the fish and fowl of sea and air,
 Beast of the field, and over all the Earth,
 And every creeping thing that creeps the ground !’
 This said, he formed thee, Adam, thee, O Man,
 Dust of the ground, and in thy nostrils breathed
 The breath of life ; in his own image he
 Created thee, in the image of God
 Express, and thou becam’st a living soul.
 Male he created thee, but thy consort
 Female, for race ; then blessed mankind, and said, 530
 ‘Be fruitful, multiply, and fill the Earth ;
 Subdue it, and throughout dominion hold
 Over fish of the sea, and fowl of the air,
 And every living thing that moves on the Earth !’
 Wherever thus created (for no place
 Is yet distinct by name), thence, as thou know’st,
 He brought thee into this delicious grove,
 This garden, planted with the trees of God,
 Delectable both to behold and taste ;
 And freely all their pleasant fruit for food 540
 Gave thee : all sorts are here that all the Earth yields,
 Variety without end ; but of the Tree
 Which tasted works knowledge of good and evil
 Thou may’st not ; in the day thou eat’st, thou diest.
 Death is the penalty imposed ; beware,
 And govern well thy appetite, lest Sin
 Surprise thee, and her black attendant, Death.
 “Here finished he, and all that he had made
 Viewed, and behold ! all was entirely good.
 So even and morn accomplished the sixth day ; 550

Yet not till the Creator, from his work
Desisting, though unwearied, up returned,
Up to the Heaven of Heavens, his high abode,
Thence to behold this new-created World,
The addition of his empire—how it showed
In prospect from his throne, how good, how fair,
Answering his great idea. Up he rode,
Followed with acclamation and the sound
Symphonious of ten thousand harps, that tuned
Angelic harmonies. The Earth, the air 560
Resounded (thou remember'st, for thou heard'st),
The heavens and all the constellations rung,
The planets in their stations listening stood,
While the bright pomp ascended jubilant.
'Open, ye everlasting gates!' they sung;
'Open, ye Heavens, your living doors! let in
The great Creator, from his work returned
Magnificent, his six days' work, a World!
Open, and henceforth oft; for God will deign
To visit oft the dwellings of just men, 570
Delighted, and with frequent intercourse
Thither will send his winged messengers
On errands of supernal grace.' So sung
The glorious train ascending. He through Heaven,
That opened wide her blazing portals, led
To God's eternal house direct the way;
A broad and ample road, whose dust is gold,
And pavement stars, as stars to thee appear
Seen in the Galaxy, that milky way
Which nightly as a circling zone thou seest 580
Powdered with stars. And now on Earth the seventh
Evening arose in Eden, for the sun
Was set, and twilight from the east came on,

Forerunning night; when at the holy mount
Of Heaven's high-seated top, the imperial throne
Of Godhead, fixed for ever firm and sure,
The Filial Power arrived, and sat him down
With his great Father; for he also went
Invisible, yet stayed (such privilege
Hath Omnipresence), and the work ordained, 590
Author and end of all things, and, from work
Now resting, blessed and hallowed the seventh day,
As resting on that day from all his work;
But not in silence holy kept: the harp
Had work and rested not; the solemn pipe,
And dulcimer, all organs of sweet stop,
All sounds on fret by string or golden wire,
Tempered soft tunings, intermixed with voice
Choral or unison; of incense clouds,
Fuming from golden censers, hid the mount. 600
Creation and the six days' acts they sung:
'Great are thy works, Jehovah! infinite
Thy power! what thought can measure thee, or tongue
Relate thee? greater now in thy return
Than from the Giant-angels: thee that day
Thy thunders magnified; but to create
Is greater than created to destroy.
Who can impair thee, mighty King, or bound
Thy empire? Easily the proud attempt
Of Spirits apostate and their counsels vain 610
Thou hast repelled, while impiously they thought
Thee to diminish, and from thee withdraw
The number of thy worshippers. Who seeks
To lessen thee, against his purpose serves
To manifest the more thy might; his evil
Thou usest, and from thence creat'st more good.

Witness this new-made World, another Heaven
From Heaven-gate not far, founded in view
On the clear hyaline, the glassy sea ;
Of amplitude almost immense, with stars 620
Numerous, and every star perhaps a world
Of destined habitation ; but thou know'st
Their seasons ; among these the seat of Men,
Earth, with her nether ocean circumfused,
Their pleasant dwelling-place. Thrice happy Men,
And sons of Men ! whom God hath thus advanced,
Created in his image, there to dwell
And worship him, and in reward to rule
Over his works, on earth, in sea, or air,
And multiply a race of worshippers 630
Holy and just ; thrice happy, if they know
Their happiness, and persevere upright !'

"So sung they, and the Empyrean rung
With halleluiahs. Thus was Sabbath kept.
And thy request think now fulfilled, that asked
How first this World and face of things began,
And what before thy memory was done
From the beginning, that posterity,
Informed by thee, might know. If else thou seek'st
Aught, not surpassing human measure, say." 640

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK VIII.

THE ARGUMENT.

Adam inquires concerning celestial motions ; is doubtfully answered, and exhorted to search rather things more worthy of knowledge. Adam assents, and, still desirous to detain Raphael, relates to him what he remembered since his own creation : his placing in Paradise ; his talk with God concerning solitude and fit society ; his first meeting and nuptials with Eve. His discourse with the Angel thereupon ; who, after admonitions repeated, departs.

PARADISE LOST

BOOK VIII.

THE Angel ended, and in Adam's ear
So charming left his voice that he a while
Thought him still speaking, still stood fixed to hear ;
Then, as new-waked, thus gratefully replied :
 " What thanks sufficient, or what recompense
Equal, have I to render thee, divine
Historian, who thus largely hast allayed
The thirst I had of knowledge, and vouchsafed
This friendly condescension to relate
Things else by me unsearchable, now heard 10
With wonder, but delight, and, as is due,
With glory attributed to the high
Creator? Something yet of doubt remains,
Which only thy solution can resolve.
When I behold this goodly frame, this World
Of Heaven and Earth consisting, and compute
Their magnitudes ; this Earth, a spot, a grain,
An atom, with the firmament compared
And all her numbered stars, that seem to roll
Spaces incomprehensible (for such 20
Their distance argues, and their swift return
Diurnal) merely to officiate light

Round this opacous Earth, this punctual spot,
One day and night, in all their vast survey
Useless besides; reasoning I oft admire
How Nature, wise and frugal, could commit
Such disproportions, with superfluous hand
So many nobler bodies to create,
Greater so manifold, to this one use,
For aught appears, and on their orbs impose 30
Such restless revolution day by day
Repeated, while the sedentary Earth,
That better might with far less compass move,
Served by more noble than herself, attains
Her end without least motion, and receives,
As tribute, such a sumless journey brought
Of incorporeal speed, her warmth and light:
Speed, to describe whose swiftness number fails."

So spake our sire, and by his countenance seemed
Entering on studious thoughts abstruse; which Eve 40
Perceiving, where she sat retired in sight,
With lowliness majestic from her seat,
And grace that won who saw to wish her stay,
Rose, and went forth among her fruits and flowers,
To visit how they prospered, bud and bloom,
Her nursery; they at her coming sprung,
And, touched by her fair tendance, gladlier grew.
Yet went she not as not with such discourse
Delighted, or not capable her ear
Of what was high: such pleasure she reserved, 50
Adam relating, she sole auditress;
Her husband the relater she preferred
Before the Angel, and of him to ask
Chose rather; he, she knew, would intermix
Grateful digressions, and solve high dispute

With conjugal caresses : from his lip
Not words alone pleased her. Oh, when meet now
Such pairs, in love and mutual honour joined?
With goddess-like demeanour forth she went,
Not unattended ; for on her as queen 60
A pomp of winning Graces waited still,
And from about her shot darts of desire
Into all eyes, to wish her still in sight.
And Raphael now to Adam's doubt proposed
Benevolent and facile thus replied :

“To ask or search I blame thee not ; for heaven
Is as the Book of God before thee set,
Wherein to read his wondrous works, and learn
His seasons, hours, or days, or months, or years :
This to attain, whether heaven move or Earth 70
Imports not, if thou reckon right ; the rest
From Man or Angel the great Architect
Did wisely to conceal, and not divulge
His secrets, to be scanned by them who ought
Rather admire. Or if they list to try
Conjecture, he his fabric of the heavens
Hath left to their disputes, perhaps to move
His laughter at their quaint opinions wide
Hereafter, when they come to model heaven,
And calculate the stars ; how they will wield 80
The mighty frame ; how build, unbuild, contrive,
To save appearances ; how gird the sphere
With centric and eccentric scribbled o'er,
Cycle and epicycle, orb in orb.
Already by thy reasoning this I guess,
Who art to lead thy offspring, and supposest
That bodies bright and greater should not serve
The less not bright, nor heaven such journeys run,

Earth sitting still, when she alone receives
The benefit. Consider, first, that great 90
Or bright infers not excellence: the Earth,
Though, in comparison of heaven, so small,
Nor glistening, may of solid good contain
More plenty than the sun that barren shines,
Whose virtue on itself works no effect,
But in the fruitful Earth; there first received,
His beams, unactive else, their vigour find.
Yet not to Earth are those bright luminaries
Officious, but to thee, Earth's habitant.
And for the heaven's wide circuit, let it speak 100
The Maker's high magnificence, who built
So spacious, and his line stretched out so far,
That Man may know he dwells not in his own;
An edifice too large for him to fill,
Lodged in a small partition, and the rest
Ordained for uses to his Lord best known.
The swiftness of those circles attribute,
Though numberless, to his omnipotence,
That to corporeal substances could add
Speed almost spiritual. Me thou think'st not slow, 110
Who since the morning-hour set out from Heaven
Where God resides, and ere mid-day arrived
In Eden, distance inexpressible
By numbers that have name. But this I urge,
Admitting motion in the heavens, to show
Invalid that which thee to doubt it moved;
Not that I so affirm, though so it seem
To thee who hast thy dwelling here on Earth.
God, to remove his ways from human sense,
Placed heaven from Earth so far, that earthly sight, 120
If it presume, might err in things too high,

And no advantage gain. What if the sun
Be centre to the World, and other stars,
By his attractive virtue and their own
Incited, dance about him various rounds?
Their wandering course, now high, now low, then hid,
Progressive, retrograde, or standing still,
In six thou seest; and what if seventh to these
The planet Earth, so steadfast though she seem,
Insensibly three different motions move? 130
Which else to several spheres thou must ascribe,
Moved contrary with thwart obliquities,
Or save the sun his labour, and that swift
Nocturnal and diurnal rhomb supposed,
Invisible else above all stars, the wheel
Of day and night; which needs not thy belief,
If Earth, industrious of herself, fetch day,
Travelling east, and with her part averse
From the sun's beam meet night, her other part
Still luminous by his ray. What if that light, 140
Sent from her through the wide transpicuous air,
To the terrestrial moon be as a star,
Enlightening her by day, as she by night
This Earth—reciprocal, if land be there,
Fields and inhabitants? Her spots thou seest
As clouds, and clouds may rain, and rain produce
Fruits in her softened soil, for some to eat
Allotted there; and other suns, perhaps,
With their attendant moons, thou wilt descry,
Communicating male and female light, 150
Which two great sexes animate the World,
Stored in each orb perhaps with some that live.
For such vast room in Nature unpossessed
By living soul, desert and desolate,

Only to shine, yet scarce to contribute
Each orb a glimpse of light, conveyed so far
Down to this habitable, which returns
Light back to them, is obvious to dispute.
But whether thus these things, or whether not—
Whether the sun, predominant in heaven, 160
Rise on the Earth, or Earth rise on the sun;
He from the east his flaming road begin,
Or she from west her silent course advance
With inoffensive pace that spinning sleeps
On her soft axle, while she paces even,
And bears thee soft with the smooth air along—
Solicit not thy thoughts with matters hid:
Leave them to God above; him serve and fear.
Of other creatures, as him pleases best,
Wherever placed, let him dispose; joy thou 170
In what he gives to thee, this Paradise
And thy fair Eve; Heaven is for thee too high
To know what passes there; be lowly wise;
Think only what concerns thee and thy being;
Dream not of other worlds, what creatures there
Live, in what state, condition, or degree;
Contented that thus far hath been revealed
Not of Earth only, but of highest Heaven.”

To whom thus Adam, cleared of doubt, replied:
“How fully hast thou satisfied me, pure 180
Intelligence of Heaven, Angel serene,
And, freed from intricacies, taught to live
The easiest way, nor with perplexing thoughts
To interrupt the sweet of life, from which
God hath bid dwell far off all anxious cares,
And not molest us, unless we ourselves
Seek them with wandering thoughts, and notions vain.

But apt the mind or fancy is to rove
 Unchecked; and of her roving is no end,
 Till warned, or by experience taught, she learn 190
 That not to know at large of things remote
 From use, obscure and subtle, but to know
 That which before us lies in daily life,
 Is the prime wisdom: what is more is fume,
 Or emptiness, or fond impertinence,
 And renders us in things that most concern
 Unpractised, unprepared, and still to seek.
 Therefore from this high pitch let us descend
 A lower flight, and speak of things at hand
 Useful; whence haply mention may arise 200
 Of something not unseasonable to ask,
 By sufferance, and thy wonted favour, deigned.
 Thee I have heard relating what was done
 Ere my remembrance; now hear me relate
 My story, which perhaps thou hast not heard.
 And day is yet not spent; till then thou seest
 How subtly to detain thee I devise,
 Inviting thee to hear while I relate—
 Fond, were it not in hope of thy reply.
 For while I sit with thee, I seem in Heaven; 210
 And sweeter thy discourse is to my ear
 Than fruits of palm-tree, pleasantest to thirst
 And hunger both, from labour, at the hour
 Of sweet repast: they satiate, and soon fill,
 Though pleasant; but thy words, with grace divine
 Imbued, bring to their sweetness no satiety.”
 To whom thus Raphael answered, Heavenly meek:
 “Nor are thy lips ungraceful, Sire of Men,
 Nor tongue ineloquent; for God on thee
 Abundantly his gifts hath also poured, 220

Inward and outward both, his image fair :
Speaking or mute, all comeliness and grace
Attends thee, and each word, each motion, forms.
Nor less think we in Heaven of thee on Earth
Than of our fellow-servant, and inquire
Gladly into the ways of God with Man ;
For God, we see, hath honoured thee, and set
On Man his equal love. Say therefore on ;
For I that day was absent, as befell,
Bound on a voyage uncouth and obscure, 230
Far on excursion toward the gates of Hell,
Squared in full legion (such command we had),
To see that none thence issued forth a spy
Or enemy, while God was in his work ;
Lest he, incensed at such eruption bold,
Destruction with Creation might have mixed :
Not that they durst without his leave attempt ;
But us he sends upon his high behests
For state, as sovran King, and to inure
Our prompt obedience. Fast we found, fast shut, 240
The dismal gates, and barricadoed strong ;
But, long ere our approaching, heard within
Noise, other than the sound of dance or song ;
Torment, and loud lament, and furious rage.
Glad we returned up to the coasts of light
Ere Sabbath-evening ; so we had in charge.
But thy relation now ; for I attend,
Pleased with thy words no less than thou with mine.”
So spake the godlike Power, and thus our sire :
“For Man to tell how human life began 250
Is hard ; for who himself beginning knew ?
Desire with thee still longer to converse
Induced me. As new-waked from soundest sleep,

Soft on the flowery herb I found me laid,
 In balmy sweat, which with his beams the sun
 Soon dried, and on the reeking moisture fed.
 Straight toward Heaven my wondering eyes I turned,
 And gazed a while the ample sky, till raised
 By quick instinctive motion up I sprung,
 As thitherward endeavouring, and upright 260
 Stood on my feet. About me round I saw
 Hill, dale, and shady woods, and sunny plains,
 And liquid lapse of murmuring streams; by these,
 Creatures that lived and moved, and walked or flew,
 Birds on the branches warbling; all things smiled;
 With fragrance and with joy my heart o'erflowed.
 Myself I then perused, and limb by limb
 Surveyed, and sometimes went, and sometimes ran
 With supple joints, as lively vigour led;
 But who I was, or where, or from what cause, 270
 Knew not. To speak I tried, and forthwith spake;
 My tongue obeyed, and readily could name
 Whate'er I saw. 'Thou Sun,' said I, 'fair light,
 And thou enlightened Earth, so fresh and gay,
 Ye hills and dales, ye rivers, woods, and plains,
 And ye that live and move, fair creatures, tell,
 Tell, if ye saw, how came I thus, how here!
 Not of myself; by some great Maker then,
 In goodness and in power pre-eminent.
 Tell me, how may I know him, how adore, 280
 From whom I have that thus I move and live,
 And feel that I am happier than I know!'

While thus I called, and strayed I knew not whither,
 From where I first drew air, and first beheld
 This happy light, when answer none returned,
 On a green shady bank, profuse of flowers,

Pensive I sat me down; there gentle sleep
First found me, and with soft oppression seized
My drowsèd sense, untroubled, though I thought
I then was passing to my former state 290
Insensible, and forthwith to dissolve:
When suddenly stood at my head a dream,
Whose inward apparition gently moved
My fancy to believe I yet had being,
And lived. One came, methought, of shape divine,
And said, 'Thy mansion wants thee, Adam; rise,
First Man, of men innumerable ordained
First father! called by thee, I come thy guide
To the garden of bliss, thy seat prepared.'
So saying, by the hand he took me, raised, 300
And over fields and waters, as in air
Smooth sliding without step, last led me up
A woody mountain, whose high top was plain,
A circuit wide, enclosed, with goodliest trees
Planted, with walks and bowers, that what I saw
Of Earth before scarce pleasant seemed. Each tree
Loaden with fairest fruit, that hung to the eye
Tempting, stirred in me sudden appetite
To pluck and eat; whereat I waked, and found
Before mine eyes all real, as the dream 310
Had lively shadowed. Here had new begun
My wandering, had not He, who was my guide
Up hither, from among the trees appeared,
Presence Divine. Rejoicing, but with awe,
In adoration at his feet I fell
Submiss. He reared me, and, 'Whom thou sought'st I am,'
Said mildly, 'Author of all this thou seest
Above, or round about thee, or beneath.
'This Paradise I give thee; count it thine

To till and keep, and of the fruit to eat : 320
Of every tree that in the garden grows
Eat freely with glad heart ; fear here no dearth.
But of the Tree whose operation brings
Knowledge of good and ill, which I have set,
The pledge of thy obedience and thy faith,
Amid the garden by the Tree of Life,
Remember what I warn thee, shun to taste,
And shun the bitter consequence : for know,
The day thou eat'st thereof, my sole command
Transgressed, inevitably thou shalt die, 330
From that day mortal, and this happy state
Shalt lose, expelled from hence into a world
Of woe and sorrow.' Sternly he pronounced
The rigid interdiction, which resounds
Yet dreadful in mine ear, though in my choice
Not to incur ; but soon his clear aspect
Returned, and gracious purpose thus renewed :
'Not only these fair bounds, but all the Earth
To thee and to thy race I give ; as lords
Possess it, and all things that therein live, 340
Or live in sea or air—beast, fish, and fowl.
In sign whereof, each bird and beast behold
After their kinds ; I bring them to receive
From thee their names, and pay thee fealty
With low subjection ; understand the same
Of fish within their watery residence,
Not hither summoned, since they cannot change
Their element to draw the thinner air.'
As thus he spake, each bird and beast behold
Approaching two and two ; these cowering low 350
With blandishment ; each bird stooped on his wing.
I named them as they passed, and understood

Their nature ; with such knowledge God endued
My sudden apprehension. But in these
I found not what, methought, I wanted still,
And to the Heavenly Vision thus presumed :

“O, by what name—for thou above all these,
Above mankind, or aught than mankind higher,
Surpassest far my naming—how may I
Adore thee, Author of this Universe,
And all this good to Man, for whose well-being
So amply, and with hands so liberal,
Thou hast provided all things? But with me
I see not who partakes. In solitude
What happiness? who can enjoy alone,
Or, all enjoying, what contentment find?’
Thus I presumptuous ; and the Vision bright,
As with a smile more brightened, thus replied :

360

“What call’st thou solitude? Is not the Earth
With various living creatures, and the air,
Replenished, and all these at thy command
To come and play before thee? Know’st thou not
Their language and their ways? They also know,
And reason not contemptibly ; with these
Find pastime, and bear rule ; thy realm is large.’
So spake the universal Lord, and seemed
So ordering. I, with leave of speech implored,
And humble deprecation, thus replied :

370

“Let not my words offend thee, Heavenly Power !
My Maker, be propitious while I speak.
Hast thou not made me here thy substitute,
And these inferior far beneath me set?
Among unequals what society
Can sort, what harmony or true delight?
Which must be mutual, in proportion due

380

Given and received; but in disparity,
 The one intense, the other still remiss,
 Cannot well suit with either, but soon prove
 Tedious alike. Of fellowship I speak,
 Such as I seek, fit to participate 390
 All rational delight, wherein the brute
 Cannot be human consort: they rejoice
 Each with their kind, lion with lioness;
 So fitly them in pairs thou hast combined;
 Much less can bird with beast, or fish with fowl,
 So well converse, nor with the ox the ape;
 Worse then can man with beast, and least of all.'

"Whereto the Almighty answered, not displeased:
 'A nice and subtle happiness, I see, .
 Thou to thyself proposest, in the choice 400
 Of thy associates, Adam, and wilt taste
 No pleasure, though in pleasure, solitary.
 What think'st thou then of me, and this my state?
 Seem I to thee sufficiently possessed
 Of happiness, or not? who am alone
 From all eternity; for none I know
 Second to me or like, equal much less.
 How have I then with whom to hold converse,
 Save with the creatures which I made, and those
 To me inferior, infinite descents 410
 Beneath what other creatures are to thee?'

"He ceased; I lowly answered: 'To attain
 The highth and depth of thy eternal ways
 All human thoughts come short, Supreme of things!
 Thou in thyself art perfect, and in thee
 Is no deficiency found; not so is Man,
 But in degree—the cause of his desire
 By conversation with his like to help

Or solace his defects. No need that thou
Should'st propagate, already infinite, 420
And through all numbers absolute, though One;
But Man by number is to manifest
His single imperfection, and beget
Like of his like, his image multiplied,
In unity defective; which requires
Collateral love, and dearest amity.
Thou, in thy secrecy although alone,
Best with thyself accompanied, seek'st not
Social communication; yet, so pleased,
Canst raise thy creature to what highth thou wilt 430
Of union or communion, deified;
I, by conversing, cannot these erect
From prone, nor in their ways complacence find.
Thus I emboldened spake, and freedom used
Permissive, and acceptance found; which gained
This answer from the gracious Voice Divine:
 "Thus far to try thee, Adam, I was pleased,
And find thee knowing not of beasts alone,
Which thou hast rightly named, but of thyself,
Expressing well the spirit within thee free, 440
My image, not imparted to the brute;
Whose fellowship therefore, unmeet for thee,
Good reason was thou freely shouldst dislike;
And be so minded still. I, ere thou spak'st,
Knew it not good for Man to be alone,
And no such company as then thou saw'st
Intended thee—for trial only brought,
To see how thou couldst judge of fit and meet.
What next I bring shall please thee, be assured,
Thy likeness, thy fit help, thy other self, 450
Thy wish exactly to thy heart's desire.'

“He ended, or I heard no more; for now
My earthly by his Heavenly overpowered,
Which it had long stood under, strained to the highth
In that celestial colloquy sublime,
As with an object that excels the sense,
Dazzled and spent, sunk down, and sought repair
Of sleep, which instantly fell on me, called
By Nature as in aid, and closed mine eyes.
Mine eyes he closed, but open left the cell 460
Of fancy, my internal sight; by which,
Abstract as in a trance, methought I saw,
Though sleeping, where I lay, and saw the Shape
Still glorious before whom awake I stood;
Who stooping opened my left side, and took
From thence a rib, with cordial spirits warm,
And life-blood streaming fresh; wide was the wound,
But suddenly with flesh filled up and healed.
The rib he formed and fashioned with his hands;
Under his forming hands a creature grew, 470
Man-like, but different sex, so lovely fair
That what seemed fair in all the world seemed now
Mean, or in her summed up, in her contained
And in her looks, which from that time infused
Sweetness into my heart unfelt before,
And into all things from her air inspired
The spirit of love and amorous delight.
She disappeared, and left me dark; I waked
To find her, or for ever to deplore
Her loss, and other pleasures all abjure: 480
When, out of hope, behold her not far off,
Such as I saw her in my dream, adorned
With what all Earth or Heaven could bestow
To make her amiable. On she came,

Led by her Heavenly Maker, though unseen,
And guided by his voice, nor uninformed
Of nuptial sanctity and marriage rites.
Grace was in all her steps, Heaven in her eye,
In every gesture dignity and love.

I, overjoyed, could not forbear aloud :

490

“ ‘This turn hath made amends ; thou hast fulfilled
Thy words, Creator bounteous and benign,
Giver of all things fair, but fairest this
Of all thy gifts ! nor enviest. I now see
Bone of my bone, flesh of my flesh, my self
Before me ; Woman is her name, of Man
Extracted ; for this cause he shall forgo
Father and mother, and to his wife adhere,
And they shall be one flesh, one heart, one soul.’

“She heard me thus ; and, though divinely brought, 500
Yet innocence and virgin modesty,
Her virtue and the conscience of her worth,
That would be wooed, and not unsought be won,
Not obvious, not obtrusive, but retired,
The more desirable—or, to say all,
Nature herself, though pure of sinful thought—
Wrought in her so, that, seeing me, she turned ;
I followed her ; she what was honour knew,
And with obsequious majesty approved
My pleaded reason. To the nuptial bower 510
I led her blushing like the Morn ; all Heaven,
And happy constellations, on that hour
Shed their selectest influence ; the Earth
Gave sign of gratulation, and each hill ;
Joyous the birds ; fresh gales and gentle airs
Whispered it to the woods, and from their wings
Flung rose, flung odours from the spicy shrub,

Disporting, till the amorous bird of night
Sung spousal, and bid haste the evening star
On his hill-top to light the bridal lamp. 520

“Thus have I told thee all my state, and brought
My story to the sum of earthly bliss
Which I enjoy, and must confess to find
In all things else delight indeed, but such
As, used or not, works in the mind no change,
Nor vehement desire—these delicacies
I mean of taste, sight, smell, herbs, fruits, and flowers,
Walks, and the melody of birds: but here,
Far otherwise, transported I behold,
Transported touch; here passion first I felt, 530
Commotion strange, in all enjoyments else
Superior and unmoved, here only weak
Against the charm of beauty’s powerful glance.
Or Nature failed in me, and left some part
Not proof enough such object to sustain,
Or, from my side subducting, took perhaps
More than enough; at least on her bestowed
Too much of ornament, in outward show
Elaborate, of inward less exact.
For well I understand in the prime end 540
Of Nature her the inferior, in the mind
And inward faculties, which most excel;
In outward also her resembling less
His image who made both, and less expressing
The character of that dominion given
O’er other creatures. Yet when I approach
Her loveliness, so absolute she seems
And in herself complete, so well to know
Her own, that what she wills to do or say
Seems wisest, virtuousest, discreetest, best: 550
All higher Knowledge in her presence falls

Degraded; Wisdom in discourse with her
Loses discountenanced, and like Folly shows;
Authority and Reason on her wait,
As one intended first, not after made
Occasionally; and to consummate all,
Greatness of mind and nobleness their seat
Build in her loveliest, and create an awe
About her, as a guard angelic placed."

To whom the Angel, with contracted brow: 560
"Accuse not Nature, she hath done her part;
Do thou but thine, and be not diffident
Of Wisdom; she deserts thee not, if thou
Dismiss not her, when most thou need'st her nigh,
By attributing overmuch to things
Less excellent, as thou thyself perceiv'st.
For what admir'st thou, what transports thee so?
An outside: fair, no doubt, and worthy well
Thy cherishing, thy honouring, and thy love;
Not thy subjection. Weigh with her thyself; 570
Then value. Oft-times nothing profits more
Than self-esteem, grounded on just and right,
Well managed; of that skill the more thou know'st,
The more she will acknowledge thee her head,
And to realities yield all her shows:
Made so adorn for thy delight the more,
So awful, that with honour thou may'st love
Thy mate, who sees when thou art seen least wise.
But if the sense of touch, whereby mankind
Is propagated, seem such dear delight 580
Beyond all other, think the same vouchsafed
To cattle and each beast; which would not be
To them made common and divulged, if aught
Therein enjoyed were worthy to subdue
The soul of Man, or passion in him move.

What higher in her society thou find'st
 Attractive, human, rational, love still :
 In loving thou dost well ; in passion not,
 Wherein true love consists not. Love refines
 The thoughts, and heart enlarges ; hath his seat 590
 In Reason, and is judicious ; is the scale
 By which to Heavenly love thou may'st ascend,
 Not sunk in carnal pleasure ; for which cause
 Among the beasts no mate for thee was found."

To whom thus, half abashed, Adam replied :
 "Neither her outside formed so fair, nor aught
 In procreation common to all kinds
 (Though higher of the genial bed by far,
 And with mysterious reverence, I deem),
 So much delights me as those graceful acts, 600
 Those thousand decencies, that daily flow
 From all her words and actions, mixed with love
 And sweet compliance, which declare unfeigned
 Union of mind, or in us both one soul ;
 Harmony to behold in wedded pair
 More grateful than harmonious sound to the ear.
 Yet these subject not ; I to thee disclose
 What inward thence I feel, not therefore foiled,
 Who meet with various objects, from the sense
 Variously representing, yet, still free, 610
 Approve the best, and follow what I approve.
 To love thou blam'st me not ; for love, thou say'st,
 Leads up to Heaven, is both the way and guide ;
 Bear with me then, if lawful what I ask.
 Love not the Heavenly Spirits, and how their love
 Express they ? by looks only, or do they mix
 Irradiance, virtual or immediate touch ?"

To whom the Angel, with a smile that glowed
 Celestial rosy-red, love's proper hue,

Answered: "Let it suffice thee that thou know'st 620
Us happy, and without love no happiness.
Whatever pure thou in the body enjoy'st
(And pure thou wert created) we enjoy
In eminence, and obstacle find none
Of membrane, joint, or limb, exclusive bars;
Easier than air with air, if Spirits embrace,
'Total they mix, union of pure with pure
Desiring, nor restrained conveyance need
As flesh to mix with flesh, or soul with soul.
But I can now no more; the parting sun 630
Beyond the Earth's green Cape and verdant Isles
Hesperian sets, my signal to depart.
Be strong, live happy, and love! but first of all
Him whom to love is to obey, and keep
His great command; take heed lest passion sway
Thy judgment to do aught which else free will
Would not admit; thine and of all thy sons
'The weal or woe in thee is placed; beware!
I in thy persevering shall rejoice,
And all the Blest. Stand fast; to stand or fall, 640
Free in thine own arbitrement it lies.
Perfect within, no outward aid require;
And all temptation to transgress repel."

So saying, he arose; whom Adam thus
Followed with benediction: "Since to part,
Go, Heavenly guest, Ethereal messenger,
Sent from whose sovran goodness I adore!
Gentle to me and affable hath been
Thy condescension, and shall be honoured ever
With grateful memory; thou to Mankind 650
Be good and friendly still, and oft return!"

So parted they, the Angel up to Heaven
From the thick shade, and Adam to his bower,

NOTES.

Abbreviations:—

M. = Milton, or Milton's poetry, as distinguished from his prose.

G. = Glossary.

P. R. = *Paradise Regained*.

S. A. = *Samson Agonistes*.

Other books of *Paradise Lost* are indicated by Roman numerals; thus in the third note "I 1—26" means book I., lines 1 to 26.

The edition of Milton's prose-works to which reference is made under the abbreviation "*P. W.*" is that published in "Bohn's Standard Library."

*Note:—*The action of books I—VI. is sketched in the *Introduction*, pp. liv—lvii., and should be studied by any reader who is not familiar with them.

BOOK VII.

"The *Argument*," i.e. the subject, 'contents,' = Lat. *argumentum*; cf. the *Argumenta*, or outlines of the plot, prefixed to the plays of Plautus. M. refers to the whole theme of *Paradise Lost* as "this great argument" (I. 24).

As to Milton's invocation of the Muse, and the name "Urania," see *Appendix*, pp. 89, 90.

I—39. With this exordium compare I. 1—26; III. 1—55, IX. 1—47. All four passages mark a significant stage in the development of the story. The first serves as prelude to the whole poem and indicates the subject; the second transfers the scene of the action from Hell to Heaven, and later to the Earth; the third is a passion

before the history of Creation is unfolded; and the fourth prepares us for the Temptation and Fall of Man. Compare Homer's method of stopping to invoke the Muse afresh before some great event is narrated.

We may note in these four passages the number of personal allusions, e.g. to Milton's consciousness of the greatness of his subject (I. 12—16, 24—26, III. 54, 55, VII. 12—24, IX. 13—19, 41—43); his blindness (III. 21—55, VII. 27); loneliness (VII. 28); and advanced years (IX. 45).

In each passage the notion implied in "above the Olympian hill I soar" finds expression. Cf. I. 13—15, III. 26—32, IX. 13—19; and see *Appendix*, p. 89.

1. *descend from Heaven*; cf. Horace's *descende caelo, Calliope*—*Odes* III. 4. 1. Here the invocation is specially appropriate as the scene of the action of the poem passes literally from Heaven to Earth (the Creation of which is about to be described).

2. *if rightly...called*; an indication that he was conscious of using the name not in its usual classical sense.

3. *the Olympian hill*; Mount Olympus in the north of Greece. Like Mount Helicon in Boeotia, it was a resort of the Muses to whom classical poets appealed for inspiration. Hence lines 3, 4 are a figurative way of claiming loftier inspiration than that of classical poets.

3, 4. *soar...flight...wing*; his favourite metaphor to describe uplifting inspiration; cf. I. 13, 14, III. 13—15, IX. 45, *P. R.* I. 14.

4. *Pegasus* was the famous winged horse (cf. "flying" 17) that ascended to the heaven of the classical gods and afterwards used to bear the thunder and lightning of Zeus; see *Introduction*, p. xxvi. M. had ascended far higher, into the Heaven of the Almighty.

5. "Urania" means 'the Heavenly one' and it is on a Heavenly power that he calls, not on the classical Muse named 'Urania'.

6. *nor of*, understand *as* from the verb in the next line.

7. *old*; often in M. almost a title of reverence; cf. "Mount Casius old," II. 593, 'the fable of Bellerus old,' *Lycaeus* 160. *Cold* is a needless change.

8—12. The allusion is to *Proverbs* viii. 23—30, where the word rendered "rejoicing" in verse 30 may mean 'playing' (*ludens* in the Vulgate); cf. "didst play," 10. M. quotes the verse in *Tetrahordon* and substitutes "playing" for "rejoicing" (*P. W.* III. 331).

9. *converse*, live in company with (Lat. *conversari*); cf. II. 184.

13. He means that in books III., V., VI., he has described events

which took place in the "Heaven of Heavens," i.e. the Empyrean (see pp. 81, 82). Cf. 553.

14. *drawn*, breathed; cf. VIII. 284. *empyrean air*, the air of the Empyrean, hence 'fiery.' M. accents the noun *empyrean* (73), the adj. *empyrean*.

15. *thy tempering*, tempered by thee, i.e. made to suit the breathing of "an earthly guest."

16. *element*, proper sphere or dwelling-place, viz. the Earth.

17. He implies that, guided by the Muse (12), he has been borne aloft on a winged Pegasus of his own, superior to the Pegasus (4) of mythology. *unreined*; 'unbridled,' Lat. *infrenis*; it qualifies *steed*.

18, 19. An allusion to the legend that Bellerophon attempted to ascend to heaven on the back of Pegasus, but was flung to the ground. Incurring the anger of the gods, he roamed alone in the *Aleian* plain, 'the land of wandering' (Gr. ἀλη = 'wandering'); cf. Homer, *Iliad* vi. 200—202. *clime*, region; cf. I. 242, "Is this the region,...the clime?"

20. *erroneous*; in the literal sense 'straying' (Lat. *erroneus*).

21. Henceforth the action of the poem, of which "half remains unsung," takes place on Earth (save in some brief passages of books x., xi.). *bound*, confined; a participle.

22. *the visible diurnal sphere*, i.e. "the Astronomical Universe of Man, which appears to revolve round the Earth daily in twenty-four hours"—Masson.

23. *rapt*, caught up; see G.

the pole, the highest point of the Universe, i.e. where it is fastened to the golden chain which suspends it from the Empyrean; see p. 84.

24. *more safe*, i.e. with greater confidence.

25—39. M. refers to his own position after the Restoration. There are similar allusions in *S. A.*; see 697—700, with notes (Pitt Press ed.).

26. The verbal repetition gives an effect of pathos; cf. *S. A.* 80, 81. Note how he inverts the order of the words; cf. 184, 186, 187.

evil tongues. M. had many bitter enemies among the Royalist party; as was only natural considering the attitude which he had adopted towards Charles I. in *The Tenure of Kings and Eikonoklastes* (see *Introduction*, pp. xvi—xviii).

27. *darkness*, i.e. blindness; see *Introduction*, p. xviii.

dangers. At the Restoration M. was arrested and imprisoned for some months, probably from August to December 1660, for having defended the execution of Charles I.; and though, thanks to the efforts of Andrew Marvell (see book I. p. 72, note) and some other influential

friends, he was eventually allowed to take advantage of the Act of Oblivion (1660), yet he must for a time have felt insecure. After the publication of his great work his position was different. He was, says Burnet, "much visited by all strangers, and much admired by all at home, for the poems he wrote...chiefly that of 'Paradise Lost.'" See *Introduction*, pp. xxiii, xli.

29. *nightly*. Milton was best inspired at night. Cf. III. 30—32 and IX. 21—24, where he speaks of his Muse or

"celestial patroness, who deigns
Her *nightly visitation* unimplored,
And dictates to me *slumbering*, or inspires
Easy my unpremeditated verse."

Newton in his *Life* of M. says that the poet's widow, "being asked .. who the Muse was, replied it was God's grace, and the Holy Spirit that *visited him nightly*." (Cf. Shakespeare's famous 86th *Sonnet*.) And Johnson, on the authority of Richardson's *Life* (1734), relates that M. "would sometimes lie awake whole nights. and on a sudden his poetical faculty would rush upon him with an *impetus*, and his daughter was immediately called to secure what came" (a similar story is told of Pope).

30. *purples*, dyes with rosy hues; see G. *govern*, direct.

31. Cf. Horace, *Satires* I. 10. 74, *contentus paucis lectoribus*. As to the reception accorded to *Paradise Lost* on its publication see *Introduction*, pp. xlv, xli.

32—39. Cf. the similar allusion in *Lycidas*, 58—63, to the classical legend that Orpheus was torn to pieces, and his head thrown into the river Hebrus, by Thracian women in their Bacchanalian orgies, his mother Calliope, the Muse of epic poetry, being unable to do aught for his defence. See Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XI. 1—55, Vergil, *Georgic* IV. 517—527; and cf. *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, 48, 49:

"The riot of the tipsy Bacchanals,
Tearing the Thracian singer in their rage."

No doubt, M. intends a comparison between the "wild *riot*" (a contemptuous word) of Bacchanals and the dissolute court of Charles II., and perhaps hints (cf. "dangers," 27) that he himself may suffer like Orpheus. Other passages which probably refer to the court are I. 497, *P. R.* II. 44—48, 183, *S. A.* 1418, 1605—1607 (see notes on).

34. *Thracian*; Orpheus lived in a cave in Thrace.

35. *Rhodope*, a mountain range in Thrace; the Hebrus on the banks of which Orpheus was killed rises in Rhodope. Ovid calls

Orpheus "*Rhodopeius heros*" (*Metamorphoses* x. 50). Cf. Pope, *Ode on St Cecilia's Day* vi.

36. *to rapture*, i.e. to drink in strains that enraptured *them*, though the "revellers" were deaf to the harmony. Cf. the song "Orpheus with his lute made trees," *Henry VIII.*, III. 1. 3.

37. *harp*, the golden lyre given to Orpheus by Apollo.

38. *so*, i.e. as the Muse failed to protect Orpheus. *who*, him who.

39. *thou*, Urania. *she*, the Muse, Calliope. M. always refers contemptuously to classical mythology as mere 'fables' or 'dreams'; cf. I. 197, II. 627.

40. *Raphael*, 'Divine Healer,' or 'Health of God.'

41. *affable*; see VIII. 648, and cf. v. 221, "Raphael, the sociable spirit." In xi. 234, 235 Adam says that the archangel Michael is not "sociably mild, as Raphael." Probably M. in depicting Raphael thus as a power friendly to man is thinking of the story in the Apocryphal *Book of Tobit* how the archangel befriended Tobias; cf. two allusions to it, IV. 167—171, v. 221—223.

43. *apostasy*, falling away from his obedience to God; cf. 610.

45. *Paradise*=Greek *παράδεισος* 'a park'; originally a Persian word.

46. *interdicted*, forbidden. Cf. 542—546; see *Genesis* ii. 17.

47. *if they transgress*; connect with *lest the lake befall*.

49. *else*, other.

50. *wandering*, going from one thing to another; it qualifies *appetite*. *his consorted Eve*, Eve his consort or partner. Cf. *Richard II.*, v.

3 138, "that consorted crew," i.e. associated, acting as partners.

52. *admiration*, wonder; see *admire* in G. *muse*, musing, reflection.

57. *redounded*, recoiled, came back upon.

59—69. The main sentence is 'Whence Adam repealed the doubts and, being led on with desire to know, proceeded (69) to ask.'

whence, from which subject. *repealed*, recalled; he did not let his thoughts dwell any longer on that matter. For *repeal*=F. *rappeler*, 'to recall,' cf. *Julius Caesar*, III. 1. 51, *Coriolanus*, v. 5. 5.

62. *what*, that which. *nearer*, more closely, i.e. than the subjects just mentioned concerned him.

63. Note that M. uses *Heaven*=(1) 'the Empyrean,' i.e. 'the abode of the Almighty,' (2) 'the sky,' i.e. of this World. Here 'sky' is meant; so in 86, 167, 232.

conspicuous, visible to the eye, as opposed to the unseen Empyrean, the affairs of which concerned Adam less.

65. By *Eden* ('delight') M. means the *whole* district of Western

Asia in which was the first dwelling-place of man. The bounds of this district are defined in IV. 210—214, and according to them it lay in Mesopotamia (mainly) and Syria. The 'garden' (538, VIII. 319—321) or *Paradise* (45) was a *particular* spot in this district. Cf. IV. 208—210:

"blissful Paradise

Of God the garden was, by him in the east

Of Eden planted."

Cf. *Genesis* ii. 8. When Adam and Eve were driven out of *Paradise*, they still "Through *Eden* took their solitary way" (XII. 649).

66. *whose drouth*, who being still thirsty; abstract for concrete.

72. *interpreter*, expounder, explainer.

74. *timely*, in good time.

75. *unknown*, if unknown. *reach*, i.e. discover by itself, unaided.

79. *souvan*; see G. *the end*; cf. 591, and *Revelation* iv. 11.

80, 81. *vouchsafed*; see G. *gently*, courteously, kindly.

82, 83. *which concerned our knowing*, which it was important for us to know. *seemed*, i.e. seemed good.

88, 89. *yields or fills*; "yields space to all bodies, and again fills up the desolated space" (Richardson). Cf. II. 842, "the buxom air" = yielding (*cedens*, as in Horace, *Satires* II. 2. 13, *pete cedentem acra disco*). *ambient*, all-pervading; cf. VI. 481, "the ambient light."

90. *florid*, gay, bright-looking.

92. *so late*, i.e. after having rested "through all eternity."

94. *absolved*, was completed; = Lat. *absolvere*, to finish.

97. "Remember that thou magnify his work," *Job* xxxvi. 24.

98. *wants*, has to. *run*; see 372, note.

99. *though steep*; i.e. "though he has passed the meridian and is now on his descent, *pronus*" (Keightley). *suspense*; see G. The standing-still of the sun was probably suggested by *Joshua* x. 12—14.

100. *hears*, listens; used without any object after it.

102. *his generation*, how he was created.

102, 103, i.e. and how Nature (=the Earth and all its forms of animal and vegetable life) was born and arose from the Deep.

unapparent, not appearing, invisible, because hidden in the darkness of Chaos; cf. 233, 234.

104. *star of evening*, *Vesperus*; the classical name of the planet Venus when it appeared after sunset; seen before sunrise, it was called 'Lucifer.' See 131, 366, notes, and cf. VIII. 519, 520.

106. *Sleep*; personified, as in *Comus*, 554. *watch*, keep awake.

107. *bid his absence*, bid him (Sleep) be absent.

113. *Seraph*; not used strictly, Raphael being an archangel; see G.
115. *attain*, reach, compass, with your mind, i.e. 'comprehend.'
116. *infer*, show, prove; cf. VIII. 91, and 2 *Henry IV.*, v. 5. 14, "this doth infer the zeal I had to see him."
120. For the sentiment "knowledge within bounds," cf. VIII. 173—178 ("be lowly wise") and 191—197.
121. *inventions*, thoughts, foolish imaginations; cf. its use in *Psalm* cvi. 29, "Thus they provoked him...with their inventions."
hope, *hope for*, i.e. to know. Elizabethans use *hope* transitively; cf. *All's Well That Ends Well*, II. 1. 163, "hopest thou my cure?"
122. Cf. 1 *Timothy* i. 17, "unto the King *invisable* be honour."
123. Cf. Horace, *Odes* III. 29. 29, *exitum* | *caliginosa nocte pœnit deus*; and Vergil, *Æneid* VI. 267, *res alta terra et caligine mersas*.
- 131—136. The overthrow of Satan and his followers by the Messiah, their fall from Heaven through Chaos ("nine days they fell," VI. 871), and the return of the Messiah to the throne of the Almighty, are described in book VI. 831—892. Cf. also I. 36—49.
131. *Lucifer*; cf. v. 760, x. 425, and the *Arrogantia*, "she is now fallen from the stars with Lucifer." The name (= 'light-bringer,' *Φωσφόρος*) is properly a Latin title of the morning-star, but from its use in *Isaiah* xiv. 12, "how art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer," it came to be applied to Satan, in allusion, I suppose, to the original 'brightness' of his person.
- M. says that all the names of the rebel angels in the poem, e.g. "Satan" (v. 658), were titles given to them *after* their expulsion from Heaven; their former names being "blotted out and rased ..from the Books of Life" (I. 361—363). *Lucifer* was one of these later names: what the arch-rebel was called in Heaven we do not know (v. 658, 659). See I. 361—375, note. In each of the early drafts of Milton's contemplated drama of *Paradise Lost* the name "Lucifer," not "Satan," is assigned to him; see *Introduction*, pp. xxxvi—ix.
132. 'Bright as Lucifer' was almost a proverb like 'proud as Lucifer.' Cf. Marlowe's *Faustus*, v. 155, "beautiful As was bright Lucifer before his fall." The old *Faust-book*, 1592, says, "Lucifer [i.e. Satan] was so illuminated that he far surpassed the brightness of the sun, and all the stars." This brightness, says M., was dimmed after Satan's fall (I. 97, 591—599, IV. 835—840, 870).
133. *that star*, i.e. the morning-star, Lucifer.
134. Cf. *Luke* x. 18, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven." See I. 45. *the Deep*, i.e. Chaos.

135. *his place*, the place prepared for him, viz. Hell; cf. *Acts* i. 25.
 136. *Saints*, i.e. the Heavenly beings who had remained loyal.
 137. "And, behold, a throne was set in heaven, and one sat on the throne," *Revelation*, iv. 2. Cf. 556, 585.
 139. Thyer suggested *At last* as the true reading.
 141. *strength*, stronghold; an abstract expression for a concrete (cf. 66).
seat, abode, dwelling-place; cf. 623.
 142. *us dispossessed*; an absolute construction; cf. "*him* destroyed," IX. 130, "*me* overthrown," *S. A.* 463. In Shakespeare, as now, the absolute case is the nominative; but in older English it was the dative. Morris quotes Wyclif, *Matthew* xxviii. 13, "Thei han stolen him *us* *steþinge*"—an exact parallel to "*us* dispossessed." I believe that in such cases M. meant the pronoun to be the dative and that he sometimes employed this old idiom (with pronouns) as suggesting the Latin ablative absolute more than the nominative absolute does. Thus, "*me* overthrown" has more of a Latin sound than "*I* overthrown." Still, he also uses the nominative absolute.
 143. *fraud*, crime, sin; so Lat. *fraus* is used.
 144. Cf. v. 710, "*Drew* after him the *third* part of Heaven's host." See *Revelation* xii. 4. *whom their place*; cf. *Psalms* ciii. 16, "and the place thereof shall know it no more." So *Job* vii. 10.
 145--149. In l. 633 Satan, encouraging his downcast followers, boasts that their revolt had "emptied Heaven."
 146. *station*, post of duty. See *Jude* 6.
 151. *to have*, in having dispeopled, i.e. taken some inhabitants from.
 152, i.e. which thing, viz. the 'dispeopling' of Heaven, he foolishly supposes to damage me. *fondly*; see G.
 154. *self-lost*, when one loses of one's own accord.
 156. *there*, in that other, new-created, World.
 162. *inhabit lax*, dwell at ease (having vanquished the rebels). Some explain 'dwell at large' (cf. Lat. *habitare laxe*), as though the expulsion of the rebels gave the others more room in Heaven.
 163--167. The Creation of the World is effected through the Son; cf. *John* i. 1--3, especially verse 3.
 163. *Word*; a title of the Son in the New Testament, like Greek *Λόγος*, and *Verbum* in the Vulgate. Cf. *John* i. 1, *Revelation* xix. 13.
 165. The language is that of *Luke* i. 35.
 167. See 63, note.
 168. "There are no limits to Chaos [= 'the Deep'], because I

who fill it am infinite; and it is not vacuous or empty, because I am everywhere in it, though I only exhibit my goodness in a limited space, i.e. in Heaven." (Keightley's note.)

I am, i.e. "boundless"=infinite. "Immensity and Infinity" are among the "attributes" of the Almighty on which M. discourses in *Christian Doctrine* II.

172. *Necessity*; this clause explains "free to act or not."

175. *the Filial Godhead*, the divine Son (VI. 722); an abstract expression for a concrete seems specially appropriate when divine powers are spoken of. Cf. 587.

178. Cf. II. 297, "By policy and long process of time"; see G.

179. *earthly notion*, the intellect of man. Cf. *King Lear*, I. 4. 248, "his notion weakens"='his mind is failing.' So in *Macbeth*, III. 1. 83.

182, 183. *glory.. goodwill...peace*. *Luke* ii. 13, 14. *sung*, see G.

186. *just*, righteous; Christ is called "the just," 1 *Peter* iii. 18.

187. *ordained*, thought good.

188. See 615, 616, and I. 163; and cf. Thomson, *A Hymn*:

"From seeming evil still educating good,
And better thence again, and better still."

190. *room*, place; cf. *Luke* xiv. 8, "sit not down in the highest room," where the Revised Version reads "the chief seat."

192. *Hierarchies*; see *Appendix*, pp. 90—92.

194. *girt*; a constant Biblical metaphor of arming; cf. *Psalms* xviii. 39, "thou hast girded me with strength"; xxx. 11, "thou hast ...girded me with gladness."

195. *sapience*, wisdom, Lat. *sapientia*.

196. See *Hebrews* I. 3, and cf. III. 138—140:

"Beyond compare the Son of God was seen
Most glorious; in him all his Father shone
Substantially expressed."

198, 199. On these titles of the Heavenly beings see pp. 90, 91.

200. "The Lord hath opened his armoury," *Jeremiah* I. 25. 'The sword with which Michael overcame Satan in the great battle in Heaven was "from the armoury of God" (VI. 321).

201. "Behold, there came four chariots out from between two mountains; and the mountains were mountains of brass," *Zechariah* vi. 1.

202. *Against*, in readiness for. *harnessed*, equipped.

204. Cf. VI. 750, 752. "The chariot of paternal Deity.. instinct with spirit," i.e. animated by. See *Ezekiel* I. 20.

205—207. Cf. V. 253—255. *ever-during*='everlasting,' 565.

207. *moving*, producing harmonious sound by their motion.

208. Cf. *Psalms* xxiv. 8, "Who is this King of glory?"

210-215. See the "description of Chaos," *Appendix*, p. 83.

211. *Abyss*, see (i).

212. *wasteful*, like a desolate plain. Note in 212-214 Milton's favourite alliteration *w...w*. Cf. *Lycidas*, 13, "Unwept, and welter to the parching wind"; and compounds like "wide-wasting," VI. 253, "wide-watered," *Il Penseroso*, 75.

215. Richardson explains: "There was such confusion in Chaos, as if on earth the sea in mountainous waves should rise from its very bottom to assault Heaven (i.e. the sky), and mix the centre of the globe with the extremities of it." Of course, Chaos has no centre or pole.

217. *omnific*, almighty; literally 'all-making.'

218. Cf. VI. 771, "He on the wings of Cherub rode sublime." For the throne-chariot of the Deity formed by the wings of the *Cherubim* (see (x.) cf. *Ezekiel* i., a description followed by M., VI. 749-759.

221. *heard*, i.e. obeyed. With this passage compare carefully the rapid sketch of the Creation given by Uriel, III. 708-721.

224. *fervid*, glowing, i.e. with motion. M. remembered Horace, *Odes* I. i. 4, 5, "*metaque fervidis evitata solis*." Cf. II. 531, 532, note.

225. Cf. *Proverbs* viii. 27, "When he prepared the heavens, I was there: when he set a compass upon the face of the depth."

226. *circumscribe*, mark out the limits of

228. *one foot*, i.e. of the compasses. *central*, fixed as a centre.

229. *vast profundity obscure*. The word-order, a noun between two qualifying words, is frequent in M.: cf. 17, 270, 323, 477. We find it in Greek; cf. Euripides, *Phaenissa*, 234, *υποβολον ὄρος ἱρόν*.

232. The whole account of the Creation in this book must be compared with *Genesis* i. ii.; Milton's method of using the Scripture deserves study. See also Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, book 1.

233. *unformed*, formless; see III. 709, note.

darkness. In II. 961-963 he speaks of Night as the consort of Chaos and co-ruler of his realm, personifying them as spirits: an allegory by which we are to understand that the "Abyss," i.e. Chaos, is a region of gloom. It is so represented in the poem always. See *Genesis* i. 2.

234, 235. Cf. I. 19-22, where he says of the Holy Spirit:

"thou from the first

Wast present, and, with mighty wings outspread,
Dove-like sat'st brooding on the vast Abyss,
And mad'st it pregnant "

In *Genesis* i. 2 the Hebrew verb rendered 'moved' in the Authorised Version means, according to some scholars, 'brooded' (*incubabat*, as several of the Latin Fathers translate it). Cf. Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici*, xxxii., "that gentle heat that brooded on the waters, and in six days hatched the world."

235. *wings*, i.e. as of a dove, the idea being based on *Luke* iii. 22; see note on i. 21. *the Spirit of God*; in *Christian Doctrine*, vii., M. explains this to mean God's "divine power, rather than any person" of the Trinity.

236. *vital virtue*, the efficacy of life. *virtue*; see G.

237. *downward purged*, caused to sink, i.e. down into Chaos.

238. *tartareous*, 'belonging to Tartarus or Hell'; hence 'gloomy.'

239—241. *founded...conglobed*, established and caused to coalesce. At first the Universe carved out of Chaos is a "fluid mass" (237) of "matter unformed" (233). Now atoms (*semina rerum*) of a like nature are brought together so as to form a solid substance.

I believe that by this process M. means us to understand the formation of the Earth, and that in what follows, "the rest...disparted," he refers to the formation of the outer crust which encases the whole Universe. The air is diffused "between" the central Earth and this crust—the Primum Mobile (see *Appendix*, p. 88).

The rhythm of the passage seems to me to prove that *founded* and *conglobed* are past tenses, not participles. They are in antithesis to "fluid mass"; and *conglobed* also gives a contrast to "matter unformed" (233), as it implies that the Earth, at first without form (233), now is moulded into a spherical form: cf. v. 649, "this globous Earth."

239. *founded*; from Lat. *fundare*, 'to lay the foundation of'; not *found*, used of casting metals (i. 703), from Lat. *funderi*, 'to pour.'

240. *like things*. Cf. the phrase *discordia semina rerum* used by Ovid in describing the confused state of Chaos (*Metamorphoses* i. 9).

the rest, i.e. the matter which had not been used to form the Earth. *several*, 'separate,' with the idea 'each thing to its own place'; see G.

241. *disparted*, separated in different directions (*dis*).

spun out; the metaphor of a spindle drawing out the wool on a distaff.

242. "By this he probably meant to express the adjustment of the Earth in the exact centre of the World" (Keightley). Cf. v. 578, 579, "Earth...upon her centre poised." M. recollected Ovid's description (*Metamorphoses*, i. 13) of the Earth hanging *ponderibus librata suis*. See 253, note, with the quotation.

243—252. See *Genesis* i. 3—5. M. does not say that light was

'created' now: it existed previously (i.e. before the Universe itself) and is now introduced into the new region. This accords with III. 1—6, where we read that light either (1) existed from eternity and was thus "co-eternal" with the Almighty; or (2), if not existent "from eternity," was certainly the *first* thing made by the Almighty.

244. *ethereal*, partaking of the nature of *ether*, which the famous theory of Aristotle regarded as a fifth 'element' or 'essence'—*πέντε-τον στοιχείον*, *quinta essentia*; cf. "*quintessence* pure." Properly *ether* (Greek *αἰθήρ*, from *αἰθέω*, to glow) means very bright atmosphere; light, therefore, may well be called 'ethereal.' (See III. 715, 716, for fuller notes on 'ether' and the 'fifth element'.)

first of things; cf. III. 1, "Hail, holy Light, offspring of Heaven first-born!" and S. A. 83, "first-created beam."

245. *sprung from*, suddenly rose above; cf. the address to Light in III. 8—11:

"Before the sun,
Before the Heavens, thou wert, and at the voice
Of God, as with a mantle, didst invest
The rising World of waters dark and deep."

He chooses the east as the home of light because they are associated so in our minds through the rising of the Sun (cf. 370), but we must remember his view (which he would have supported by *Genesis* i. 3 compared with i. 14—18) that light exists independently of the Sun.

248. *tabernacle*, dwelling; cf. *Psalms* xix. 4, "In them hath he set a tabernacle for the sun." Cf. "cloudy shrine," 360.

250. *by the hemisphere*; i.e. "one half of the sphere of the Universe being in darkness while the other is in light" (Masson).

253—260. See *Job* xxxviii. 4, 7; cf. the *Nativity Ode*, 117—124:

"Such music (as 'tis said)
Before was never made,
But when of old the Sons of Morning [= Angels] sung,
While the Creator great
His constellations set,

And the *well-balanced* [cf. 242] world on hinges *hung*;
And cast the dark foundations deep,
And bid the weltering waves their oozy channel keep."

Note the third draft of Milton's intended tragedy of *Paradise Lost* and the entry at the close of the first Act: "Chorus of Angels sing a hymne of y^e Creation"; see *Introduction*, p. xxxvii. *quires*; see G.

255. *exhaling*, stealing (literally 'breathing') forth; cf. v. 642.

257. *the orb*, the globe of the Universe: "this great round," 267.
 261—275. See *Genesis* i. 6—8. There are "waters" in the Universe because Chaos, of which it was a portion, was a kind of sea (210—215). At first these waters formed one great "Deep" (245): now they are divided. Part are collected round the Earth, the middle point of the Universe, and cover it (276—282). Part are placed in the Ninth or Crystalline Sphere, i.e. in the uttermost but one of the regions of space that surround the Earth. The "firmament," according to M., is the expanse of air, stretching from the Earth to this Crystalline sphere (263—267). Hence the "firmament" intervenes between and "divides" (262, 269) the waters that flow immediately round the Earth and the waters of the Crystalline Sphere: the former being "the waters...under the firmament," the latter "the waters...above the firmament" (*Genesis* i. 7); as M. says, "The waters underneath" and "those above" (268). As to the Crystalline Sphere see *Appendix*, p. 88.

264. In *Genesis* i. 6, the margin has *expansion* instead of *firmament*.

266. *the uttermost convex*, the farthest rim.

271. *crystalline*, clear as crystal, glassy; cf. 619, note. M. always scans *crystalline* (like Latin *crystallinus*); cf. III. 482, VI. 772. Contrast *Cymbeline*, v. 4. 113, "Mount, eagle, to my palace *cystalline*."

misrule. Cf. the allusion in VI. 871 to the "wild anarchy" of Chaos.

272. Cf. II. 898—907, where we read how the 'elements' of Heat and Cold "strive for mastery" in Chaos, sometimes one, sometimes the other, ruling supreme: hence there are "fierce" and rapidly-changing "extremes" of temperature in Chaos.

273. *contiguous*, by being too near. *distemper*, i.e. make the World ("the whole frame") now too hot, now too cold.

274. *heaven*, the sky of this World; see 63, note.

277. *waters*, i.e. those "under the firmament"; see 261 note. *embryon*, in an undeveloped state; see G. *involved*, wrapped; Lat. *involvere*, 'to wrap up.'

282. *saturate*, see G. *genial*, creative, fertilising.

282—309. *God said*. See *Genesis* i. 9, 10.

283. *heaven*="firmament" (which is called "heaven" in 274).

285. *immediately*; the effect of the commands is instantaneous; cf. "forthwith," 243; "He scarce had said," 313; "sudden," 317.

286. The alliteration is probably intended to convey an impression of bulk and solidity. See a different alliterative effect in 480.

289—291. See *Psalms* civ. 7. *bottom*, valley.

293. In XII. 197, speaking of the passage of the Israelites through

the Red Sea, he says that they walked "As on dry land, between two crystal walls" (i.e. of waters on either side).

ridge direct, a long straight line; the picture of a great wave just before it breaks on the sea-shore.

296. *of armies*. Raphael had described to Adam in book VI. the contests in Heaven between the good Angels and the rebels.

297. *so*; Milton's usual way of completing a simile. Understand some verb (e.g. 'hastened') from *troop*.

298. *where*, wherever.

299. *torrent rapture*, a torrent's headlong speed and violence.

301, 302, i.e. either underground, or wandering over a wide circuit above ground. *circuit*; the object of *wandering* (transitive as in IV. 234). *serpent*; 'serpentine,' winding in and out. *error*, see G.

305. *all but*, i.e. all the ground except between the river-banks.

306. The slow, long-drawn rhythm suits the sense.

307. *Barth*, i.e. *he called* (308).

309—338. See *Genesis* i. 11—13.

319. *smelling* refers to *herbs*. *these...blown*, these having blossomed; an absolute construction. *Blow*, 'to flower,' *bloom*, *blossom* are cognates; cf. Germ. *blühen*.

321. *smelling*; so the original editions read, but it may be repeated in error from 319. Some editors change to *swelling*, a more suitable epithet of the gourd or melon. *corny reed*, corn-stalk.

322. *embattled*. Cf. the comparison in IV. 980—982 between the bristling spears of an army and ears of corn.

add; wrongly altered in most modern texts to *and*. Cf. Lat. *adde* introducing a fresh point or detail = 'moreover, besides'; as in Horace, *Satires* II. 8. 71. *humble*, low-growing; cf. Lat. *humilis* used of trees, as by Vergil, *Eclogue* IV. 2, "*humilesque myricæ*."

323. *hair*, leaves and branches; cf. Lat. *coma* used both of hair and foliage. *implicit* = Lat. *implicitus*, 'entangled,' the p. p. of *implicare*.

325. *gemmed*, budded; an imitation of Lat. *gemmare*, 'to put forth buds,' from *gemma*, 'a bud.'

327. *tufts*, clumps of trees. Bacon recommends that a garden should be planted "with some pretty tufts of fruit trees" (*Of Gardens*).

328, 329. *that*, so that. *like to Heaven*; see *Appendix*, p. 82.

331—337. See *Genesis* ii. 5, 6.

338, i.e. the chorus of Angels celebrated this day like the others.

339—386. See *Genesis* i. 14—18. Cf. III. 580, note.

340. *expanse*; see 264, note.

342. *circling*; cf. *P. R.* I. 57, "the circling hours," and Greek *κυκλεῖν* = 'to revolve,' as in Sophocles, *Electra* 1365. Perhaps M. has in mind Homer's *περιπολόμενων ἐνιαυτῶν* ('as the years went round').

348. *altern*, alternate.

351. *vicissitude*, alternation, Lat. *vicissitudo*; cf. VI. 8.

355. *unlightsome*, containing (or yielding) no light; 'dark.'

356. *mould*, substance; a common meaning in M; cf. III. 709.

357. *every magnitude of stars*, stars of every size

358. See V. 2, note, and cf. Tennyson, *The Gardener's Daughter*:
"The heavens

Sow'd all their mystic gulfs with fleeting stars."

360. *cloudy shrine* = "cloudy tabernacle," 248.

362. *firm*, yet firm, i.e. although "porous"

365. *urns*; used of vessels to hold water; see *Titus Andronicus*, III. I. 17, where most editors adopt the correction *urns* for *ruins*.

366. *the morning planet*, Venus (cf. 104, note); commonly called "Lucifer" as the morning-star and then treated as masculine. The First Ed. had "his horns" (i.e. Lucifer's), the Second Ed. *her* (i.e. of Venus)

367, 368. "By absorbing (being tinged with) or reflecting the sun's rays they increase their own small possession, i.e. store (Lat. *peculium*), of light." For *peculiar* used as a noun cf. Pope, *Epistles* I, "There's some peculiar in each leaf and grain."

369. *with diminution seen*, i.e. appearing small bodies to our eyes.

372. *invested*, arrayed; Lat. *investire*, 'to clothe.' *to run*, cf. *Psalms* xix. 4, 5, "the sun, which...rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race." See 98, 99.

373. *his longitude*, his course direct from east to west: M. uses *longitude* where we say *latitude*.

374, 375. "Canst thou bind the sweet influences of Pleiades?" *Job* xxxviii. 31. The Pleiades (see *Classical Dictionary*) rise about the spring equinox, and, according to a common belief, the Creation took place in spring—indeed some said that before the Fall of Man there was no change of seasons, but "the eternal spring" (IV. 268) "Perpetual smiled on Earth with vernal flowers" (X. 679). *influence*, see G.

376. *levelled west*, due west—exactly opposite. *set*, placed.

377. *his mirror*, i.e. serving as his reflection. *borrowing*, cf. III 730, and *Hamlet*, III. 2. 167, "moons with borrowed sheen"

378. *none*, emphatic as coming last: cf. IV. 675, 704, XI. 612.

379. *aspect*, position (an astronomical term). Scan *aspéct*, as always in Shakespeare; cf. *Lucrece*, 13, 14:

"Where mortal *stars*, as bright as heaven's beauties,
With pure *aspects* did him peculiar duties."

382. *dividual*, divided, Lat. *dividuus*: she shares her "reign" with the stars. In XII. 85 *dividual*=separable, or 'separate.'

384. *spangling*, ornamenting, decking; see G.

387—448. See *Genesis* i. 20—23.

388. *reptile*, creeping things (*reptilia*, ἐρπετά in the Septuagint). The term comprises fishes of all sorts. Note the marginal readings in *Genesis* i. 20. *soul*; used as a collective term='creatures.'

390. *displayed*, spread out; Lat. *displicare*, 'un-fold,' F. *déplier*.

393. *by their kinds*, according to their species.

394. *his*, see G.

399. *forthwith*; see 285, note. *sounds*, straits; see G.

400, i.e. with fry (young fishes) and with shoals.

402. *sculls*, shoals; see G.

403. *bank the mid-sea*; this may be noticed with a mackerel-shoal.

406. *dropt with gold*, i.e. with gold spots.

407. *attend*, wait for.

409. *jointed armour*, scales; lobsters and such like fish are referred to. *smooth*; adj.=noun; 'the smooth sea'—cf. "on the level brine," *Lycidas*, 98. See *Æneid* v. 594, 595.

410. *bended*; arching themselves as they rise and dive down again. *dolphins*, "i.e. porpoises, *déphins*" (Keightley).

412. *tempest*, toss it into storm. *leviathan*, the whale; see G. and cf. the similar description in i. 200—205. Thomson imitates M.:

"More to embroil the deep, *leviathan*

And his *unwieldy* train, in dreadful sport,

Tempest the brine" (*Winter*, 1014—1016).

417. *tepid*; their warmth serves to hatch the eggs.

419. *disclosed*, unclosed, let out. Cf. *Hamlet*, III. i. 174, "the hatch and the disclose"; also v. i. 310, where it is again used so.

420. *callow*, unfledged; akin to Lat. *calvus*, 'bald.' *fledge*, see G.

421. *summed*; 'preened'; see G. *sublime*, aloft (Lat. *sublimis*).

422. Cf. XI. 835, "sea-mews' *clang*." Lat. *clangor* is used of the cry of birds; cf. Livy i. xxxiv. *aquila...cum magno clangore volitans*.

422, 423, i.e. viewed from a distance (cf. 556) the ground would have seemed to be "under a cloud," so great was the mass of birds. Or he might mean that the birds seemed to fly almost into the clouds.

423, 424. "Doth the eagle mount up at thy command, and make her nest on high? She dwelleth and abideth on the rock," *Job* xxxix. 27, 28. *cedar-tops*. Cf. *Richard III.*, I. 3. 264, "Our *aery* [= *eyry*] buildeth in the *cedar's top*." *eyry*; see G.

425. *loosely*, singly, not "in common" = together. *wing*; used transitively as in II. 842. *region*, the upper air; cf. *Hamlet*, II. 2. 509, "thund'r doth rend the region," and 607.

426. *wedge*, i.e. cleave as with a wedge. He is twinkling (as in *P. R.* III. 309) of the *cuneus* or 'wedge' of the Roman army, viz. the formation of troops into an acute angle, the point of which had to pierce into the massed forces of the enemy; cf. Gk. *ἐμβολον*. The migrations of some birds are described in very similar language by Pliny, *Natural History*, x. 32.

428. *caravan*, troop; see G.

429, 430. "After a little time the bird that forms the apex or point [of the "wedge" or angle] quits it and falls back, and another takes his place"—Keightley. Hence M. says "with mutual wing easing."

430. "The crane and the swallow observe the time of their coming," *Jeremiah* viii. 7. Cf. "intelligent of seasons," 427.

432. *floats*, undulates. *unnumbered*, innumerable; see G.

434. *painted*, bright-coloured; cf. *pictæ volucres* in *Aeneid* IV. 525.

435. *nightingale*, evidently Milton's favourite bird, so often does he refer to it; cf. III. 38—40, IV. 602, 603, V. 40, 41. *solemn*; cf. the description of it in *Il Penseroso*, 56—64. See VIII. 518.

439. *mantling*, raised (viz. "wings") so as to form a kind of mantle.

440. *state*, pomp, stately beating. *oary*, serving as oars.

441. *the dank*, the water. *pemions*, pions, Lat. *pinnæ*

444. *the other*, the peacock.

446. *starry*, starlike; in the one place where Shakespeare uses *starry* ("the starry welkin," *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, III. 2. 356) it means "adorned with stars." *eyes*, the eye-shaped spots on the plumage of the peacock.

447. *replenished*, having been filled; the construction is absolute.

450—498. See *Genesis* I. 24, 25.

451. *soul*; the First Ed. misprints *Foule*; Bentley corrected.

453. *each...their*; cf. VIII. 342, 343, 393; the plural *their* is due to the plural sense; it refers back to the plural noun or pronoun with which *each* is in apposition.

454, 455. *teemed*, brought forth; cf. *Macbeth*, IV. 3. 176, "Each minute teems a new [grief]." *a birth*, i.e. *one birth*. It is generally

after a preposition that *a* or *an* = 'one'; cf. *Othello*, II. 3. 212, "both at a birth." *innumerable*; see G.

457. *where*; referring to *lair*. *wons*, dwells; see G.

461. *those*, the wild beasts; *these*, the cattle. *rare*, here and there, Lat. *rarus*.

462. *at once*, together; so in 475. *broad herds*, i.e. covering a wide area (with the implied notion 'numerous'); cf. Homer's phrase ἀπὸ δία πλατέ' ἀγῶν, *Iliad* xi. 679.

463. *calveid*, brought forth young; cf. *Coriolanus*, III. 1. 240.

466. *rampant*, rearing up; see G. *brinded*, brindled; see G.

ounce, a kind of lynx (*felis unia*); akin to the leopard and panther. The word is perhaps derived from Persian *yuz*, a panther.

467. *libbard*, leopard; see G.

471. *Behemoth*, the elephant; see G. and cf. Thomson's *Summer*:
"in plaited mail
Behemoth rears his head."

473. *ambiguous between*, i.e. changing from one to the other.

474. *river-horse*, hippopotamus; Greek ἵππος + ποταμός. The verb understood is *rose* (472).

476. *worm*; the term includes serpents (cf. 482). The asp or serpent by which Cleopatra was killed is called a *worm* in *Antony and Cleopatra*, v. 2. 243, 256. *those*, the insects. *limber*, flexible; see G. *fans*, wings.

477. *smallest lineaments exact*, very small, dainty limbs. For *lineaments* - 'limbs' generally, not 'features of the face,' cf. v. 278. *exact* = Lat. *exactus*, 'precise, accurate'; here 'delicately made, dainty.'

478. *liveries*, dress. *decked*; a verb: 'those waved and decked.'

480. *these*; referring to *worm*. The alliteration (especially *L...L*) expresses length. Cf. *Comus*, 340, "With thy long levelled rule of streaming light."

481. *sinuous* = Lat. *sinuosus*, winding. *trace*, track.

482. *minims*, very small creatures; see G.

483. *involved*, coiled, twined (Lat. *involvere*).

484. *and added wings*, and had wings as well as "snaky folds." Fabulous winged serpents such as dragons are meant.

485. *parsimonious*, thrifty; used in a good sense. *emmet*; in origin the same word as *ant*. M. recollected Horace's description of the ant—*haud ignara ac non incauta futuri* (*Satires* I. 1. 35).

486. Cf. Vergil, speaking of bees, *ingentes animos angusto in pectore versant* (*Georgic* iv. 83). Note that "large" is not a mere translation of *ingentes*; it implies wisdom; cf. *P. R.* III. 10, and *1 Kings* iv.

29, "God gave Solomon...largeness of heart." M. generally lends a fresh turn to what he borrows.

490 It was a common belief of Milton's time that the working-bees were female, the males being *drones* (so called from their *droning* buzz). Cf. *Perciles*, II. 1. 50, 51, "these *drones*, that rob the *bee* of *her* honey."

493. See *Genesis* II. 19, 20. Cf. VI. 73—76, VIII. 342—353.

495. See *Genesis* III. 1. The line is repeated IX. 86.

496. *brazen*, of the colour of brass.

497. *mane*. In the famous description of the serpents that strangled Laocoon (*Æneid* II. 203 *et seq.*) Vergil speaks (206, 207) of their *sanguineæ jubæ*, 'blood-red manes.'

497, 498. *to thee not noxious*. Fine 'irony.' There are similar touches in *Samson Agonistes* (see Putt Press ed. pp. xlvii—l).

501, 502. 'Earth, being complete in her attire, was smiling and fair.' Cf. Lat. *ridere* = 'to be bright,' e.g. as a field with flowers.

503. M. often uses a string of monosyllables to convey variety. Cf. II. 621, "Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shades of death." *was flown*; for this Latinism cf. VI. 335 "to his aid *was run* by Angels" = *cursum est*.

504. *frequent*, in throngs; see G. *yet remained*, i.e. a part.

505. *wanted*, was lacking. *the end*, the object for whom all was done. In 505—534 M. recalled Ovid's *Metamorphoses* I. 76—86.

506—510. M. treats man's "upright" (509) stature as a sign of his superiority to and authority over animals; cf. IV. 288—290, *Comus*, 52.

509. *front*, brow; Lat. *frons*; cf. *Richard III.* I. 1. 9, "his wrinkled front," and *Hamlet*, III. 4. 56, "the front of Jove himself."

510. *from thence*, therefore, i.e. through possessing these qualities.

511. *magnanimous*, of lofty mind. *to correspond with*, so as to hold intercourse with, e.g. through God's "messengers" (572).

513. *thither*, to Heaven.

517, 518. Lines 163—166, 170 171, 192—220, implied that the Father remained in Heaven while the Son was sent forth; yet, in virtue of his "omnipresence" (168, 169, 588—590), the Father was present in the new Universe no less than in Heaven. Cf. "let us make" (519).

519—534. See *Genesis* I. 26—31.

528. Cf. *Hebrews* I. 3, "the express image of his person" (Revised Version "very"). Literally 'modelled,' Lat. *expressus*; hence 'exact.'

535. *wherever created*; whatever the place of your creation was. That Adam was not created in Paradise, 'the garden,' but was taken there afterwards, seems implied by *Genesis* II. 8, 15. See VIII. 298.

537, 538. See 65, note. Cf. "*delicious Paradise*," IV. 132.

541. *all sorts are here*; cf. V. 337—345.

542—544. Cf. 46. *works*, produces. *may'st not*, i.e. taste.

544. *thou diest*. In IX. 210, 211 we read how the sentence passed upon Adam is relaxed, and "the instant stroke of death...removed," so that after his sin he is still suffered by the Almighty to live, but no longer in Paradise.

547. *surprise*, come suddenly upon.

In the famous allegory in book II. 648—870 Sin is represented as the mother of Death. They are always in the poem introduced together, Death attending Sin as "her shadow" (IX. 12).

557. *idea*, the conception of the Universe formed in his mind.

559. *symphonious*, harmonious; Greek *συμφωνία*=harmony.

561. *thou heard'st*; cf. Adam's own words IV. 680—688.

562. *ring*; see *sung* in the *Glossary*.

563. Even the *planets*, the 'wandering' (see VIII. 126—128) bodies, stood still. Greek *πλανήτης*= 'wanderer,' from *πλανᾶσθαι*, 'to wander.' *stations*; so the First Edition; the Second has *station*.

564. *pompe*, procession; see G.

565. See *Psalms* xxiv. 7 ("Lift up your heads, O ye gates...").

569—573. The Old Testament often speaks of Angels visiting the Earth, and in III. 529—537 M. says that there were two aerial paths for their descent, one leading straight down from Heaven on to Mount Sion, the other extending over the whole Promised Land. In *Christian Doctrine*, IX., M. deals with the ministry on Earth of Angels.

577, 578. Cf. IV. 976, "the road of Heaven star-paved."

579. *Galaxy*, see G.; called *lactæ plage* ('the milky regions') in Milton's poem *In Obitum Presulis Eliensis*, 60. Cf. Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 2. 2. 111, "that *via lactea*, a confused light of small Stars, like so many nails in a door" (I. 382, ninth ed.); and Pope, *Essay On Man*, I. 101, 102:

"His soul proud science never taught to stray
Far as the solar walk or *milky way*."

581. *powdered with stars*; a phrase in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*.

584. *the holy mount*; cf. V. 598, 643 ("that high mount of God"); in *Christian Doctrine*, VII., he calls it "the supreme citadel and habitation of God," quoting *Isaiah* lvii. 15, "I dwell in the high and holy place"—also *1 Kings* viii. 27.

585. *high-seated*, situate on high, lofty; cf. 141.

587. *The Filial Power*; see 175, note.

588—590. *He also*; the Father. See 517, 518, note.

589. *such privilege*, viz. the power of going (588), "yet staying."

591. *end of all things*; cf. 79.

591—593. See *Genesis* ii. 2, 3, *Exodus* xx. 11 (whence "hallowed").

596. *dulcimer*; a stringed instrument, played with small hammers; said to be the primitive type from which the pianoforte was developed. Mentioned in *Daniel* iii. 5, 10, 15, and probably of Babylonish origin. Our name for it comes from Spanish *dulcemelo*, a dulcimer; so called from its sweet sound (Lat. *dulce* + *melos*).

all organs, wind instruments, opposed to the stringed instruments in 597. Properly *stop* = 'that by which the sounds of wind instruments are regulated', hence = 'tone, notes.' M. speaks of a "lute or soft organ-stop waiting on elegant voices," i.e. accompanying, *On Education*. A skilled musician himself he uses musical terms often, and precisely.

597. *on fret*, i.e. produced upon frets; see G. "On stringed instruments that have finger-boards, like the lute or guitar, the small pieces of wood or other material fixed transversely on the finger-board at regular intervals are called frets. The object they serve is to mark off the length of string required to produce a given note. Frets correspond in their use with the holes in the tube of a wind instrument"

—Grove's *Dictionary of Music*

598. *tempered*, attuned, modulated.

599. *unison*, single, i.e. solo opposed to in chorus.

599, 600. *incense . . . burning*; see *Revelation* viii. 3—5. Cf. xi. 16, 17.

605. *than from*, i.e. than from thy victory over, see 135, 136

Giant-angels; a comparison is implied between the rebellious Angels and the Giants of classical mythology who sought to expel Zeus and the gods from Olympus.

606. *thy thunders*, cf. the account of the great battle in Heaven, vi. 834—866.

607. *created to destroy*, to destroy that which has been created.

613. *the number of thy worshippers*; cf. 144—149.

615, 616. Cf. 188, note.

617. See *Appendix*, p. 86.

witness this World, let this World bear witness, testify.

619. *the glassy sea* = the Crystalline Sphere; see 269—271. *hyaline*; see G.

621, 622. M. refers more than once to the likelihood of the heavenly bodies being inhabited, see viii. 153—158, and cf. the quotation from Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* in the note on viii. 140—145.

622, 623. *thou know'st their seasons*; a parenthesis, qualifying the suggestion that the stars will be fit for habitation (i.e. in respect of temperature): the Angels do not know, but the Almighty does. *seat*, dwelling-place; cf. 141.

her nether ocean, i.e. "the waters under the firmament"; cf. 261, note.

626. *advanced*, raised to honour.

627. *in his image...to rule...multiply*; cf. 519—534.

631, 632. "*O fortunatos nimium sua si bona norint*," Vergil, *Georgic* II. 458. *persevere*, remain steadfastly.

634. *halleluiahs*, 'praise ye the Lord'; cf. *Psalms* cxlvi. 1, margin.

636. *face of things*, external nature; all natural objects that the eye sees about us.

640. See VIII. 1—4, note.

BOOK VIII.

The discourse on astronomy in this book (extending down to line 178) is interesting mainly as a proof that Milton was acquainted with the teaching of Copernicus. Indeed, though he accepts the Ptolemaic system throughout the poem, he makes Raphael refer to it and its later developments in not very complimentary terms (77—84) and seems to lean towards the Copernican theory. Some striking parallels to his words are presented by the chapter in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* entitled "a Digression of the Ayre" (2. 2. 111), which is a review of then current systems and theories of astronomers. Astronomy evidently had a great attraction for Milton. Cf. several direct and indirect references to Galileo, whom he visited on his Italian journey in 1638—1639. See I. 288, III. 588—590, V. 261—263 (with notes), and the *Areopagitica*, *P.W.* II. 82.

1—4. In the First Edition of *Paradise Lost* the two books which are now VII. and VIII. of the poem formed only one book; and after the line, "Aught not surpassing human measure, say" (VII. 640), came the line (641), "To whom thus Adam gratefully replied." In the Second Edition, when book VII. was divided into two books, M. added the three lines, "The Angel ended...fixed to hear," to introduce book VIII., and changed slightly what is now the fourth line of the

book. Cf. the similar alteration at the beginning of book XII., which in the First Edition was part of book X. See *Introduction*, p. xlv. and XII. 1—5, note.

2. *charming*, in the strong sense 'laying under a spell, enchanting.'

8. *vouchsafed*; see G.

12. Scan *attributed*, cf. 107, and 155 ('contribúte').

14. *resolve*, explain, clear up.

15. M. recollected *Hamlet*, II. 2. 310, "this goodly *frame*, the earth." *frame*, fabric; cf. "this universal frame" = the Universe, v. 154, and see G.

16. *Heaven*, sky; it bears this sense in most passages of this book. See VII. 63, note.

19—38. We have the same idea again in IX. 103—110.

19. *her*; he avoids using *its*; see *his* in the *Glossary*.

numbered; apparently = 'numerous' (cf. *Cymbeline*, I. 6. 36), unless M. has in mind *Psalms* cxlvii. 4, "He telleth the number of the stars."

20 *spaces*, i.e. through spaces.

21. *argues*, shows or implies.

22. *officiate*, supply.

23. *opaque*, dark, yielding no light; cf. 91—93 ("nor glistering").

punctual, small, no bigger than a point (Lat. *punctum*).

24. *one day*, i.e. only for one.

25. *admire*, wonder, see G.

29. *so manifold*, in so infinite a degree. *one*; emphatic.

30. *for aught appears*, as far as we can judge.

32. *sedentary*, stationary (from Lat. *sedere*, 'to sit'); cf. 89, "Earth sitting still."

33. *compass*, circuit: if the Earth revolved, her circuit would be far less than that of the heavenly bodies.

35. *her end*, what she requires. The construction in 35—37 is, 'and receives as tribute her warmth and light, brought such an incalculable distance with "speed almost spiritual" (110).'

38. *number*, the power of numbers; cf. 114.

40. *studious thoughts abstruse*; for the order see VII. 229, note.

43. The number of monosyllables is, no doubt, intentional. They give a slow rhythm which suggests the calm dignity of Eve's movement.

45. *visit how*, i.e. visit and see how.

46. *her nursery*, things tended by her: an abstract expression for a concrete; cf. VII. 66, 175, notes. We speak of a 'nursery-garden.' There is a beautiful picture in IX. 423—462 of Eve among her flowers.

61. *pomp*, train; see G.

64. *to Adam's doubt proposed*, to the point of difficulty mentioned by Adam, i.e. in 25—38; cf. 13, "something of *doubt* remains."

65. *facile*, graciously acquiescing.

70, 71. *this*; referring probably to what has preceded in 68, 69. 'To attain this knowledge, viz. of the seasons, hours etc., it makes no difference whether the heaven or the Earth moves. Such knowledge is within our comprehension; but "the rest," viz. more abstruse points, God has concealed.'

74, 75. *ought...admire*. There is one instance in Shakespeare of this construction; cf. *Julius Caesar*, I. I. 3, "you ought not walk." Elsewhere he always has *to*; cf. *Julius Caesar*, II. 1. 270, "I ought to know." In Middle English the present infinitive was marked by the inflection *en*; when this inflection became obsolete, *to* was used with the infinitive. Certain 'anomalous' verbs, however, on the analogy of auxiliary verbs, omitted the *to*, and there was much irregularity in the practice of Elizabethan writers. Cf. the two constructions with *dare* in modern English: 'I dare say this' and 'I dare *to* say.'

75. *list*, wish, are inclined; see G.

78. Cf. texts like *Psalms* ii. 4, "He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: the Lord shall have them in derision"; and xxxvii. 13.

wide, i.e. of the mark; 'erroneous'; cf. the adverb in *Much Ado About Nothing*, IV. 1. 63, "he doth speak so wide."

80—84. The object of the devices which M. ridicules in these lines was to support the Ptolemaic theory of the circular motion of the heavenly bodies by accounting for difficulties which seemed to conflict with that theory. See *Appendix*, pp. 92, 93.

80. *calculate*; "make a computation of everything relating to them: their motions, distance, situation, etc." (Pearce).

82. *appearances*, apparent sizes, motions, etc. of the heavenly bodies; it was a technical term of astronomers, occurring often in Burton's chapter on Astronomy—"a Digression of the Ayre"—*Anatomy of Melancholy*, 2. 2. 111. *sphere*, the globe of the Universe; = 'frame' in 81.

83. "*Centric* are such spheres whose centre is the same with, and *eccentric* are such whose centres are different from, that of the Earth." (Richardson). *scribbled*; an intentionally contemptuous word.

84. *epicycle*; cf. Sir Thomas Browne, *Christian Morals*, XIX, "let ambition have but an epicycle and narrow circuit in thee." *orb in orb*, sphere within sphere.

86. *who*; its antecedent is contained in *thy* (85): 'the reasoning of *thee* who art.' A common Shakespearian idiom; cf. *Twelfth Night*, III. 1. 69, "He must observe *their* mood on *whom* he jests," i.e. the mood of *those* on whom. See 647.

and supposest; Raphael implies 'and art foolish enough to suppose.' If Adam who is "to lead" mankind makes such mistakes, how much more will his descendants err in their "quaint opinions."

89. *Earth sitting still*; cf. "the sedentary Earth," 32.

90, 91. *great...bright*; each used as a noun. *infern* *not*, is no proof of; see VII. 116.

93. *norglistering*, i.e. "opacous" (23). *glistering*; cf. *The Merchant of Venice*, II. 7. 65, "All that glisters is not gold." *Glisten*, *glister*, *glitter*, *glint* are all akin.

94—97. Contrast III. 606—612. *virtue*, power, efficacy; see G.

96. *received*, when received.

97. *his*; a clear case of *his* (see G.) for *its*; cf. *itself*, 95.

99. *officious*, ministering: they do not serve the Earth. See G.

100. *for*, as for. *speak*, testify, proclaim.

101. *built*; cf. VII. 92, IX. 100.

102. "Who hath stretched the line upon it?" *Job* xxxviii. 5.

103. i.e. that a sense of reverence may be fostered in man.

108. *numberless*, that cannot be described in numbers; it refers to *swiftness* (cf. 38), not to *circles* (i.e. the Sun and heavenly bodies).

110. *speed...spiritual*, speed such as bodiless spirits use; cf. 37.

111. *who...set out from Heaven*. See V. 224—256.

116. *it*; referring to *motion*.

117. *so affirm*, viz. that there *is* "motion in the heavens."

122, 123. *the sun...centre*; i.e. instead of the Earth (VII. 242).

124. *attractive virtue*; as we say, 'power of attraction.' So in III. 582, 583 he speaks of the constellations being "turnel" by the Sun's "magnetic beam."

128, 129. *six*, i.e. the six *planets* or 'wanderers'; cf. "*wandering course*" (126), and see VII. 563, note. The six meant are the Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. The "seventh" planet is the Sun, according to the Ptolemaic system; but the Earth (129), according to the Copernican. Shakespeare treats the Sun and Moon as planets; see *Appendix*, p. 87.

129. *The planet Earth*; he does not mean to state definitely that the Earth is a planet; he only hazards the supposition that she is. See the quotation from Burton's *Anatomy* in the note on 140—145.

130. "The *three different motions* which the Copernicans attribute to the Earth are (1) the *diurnal* round her own axis; (2) the *annual* round the Sun; and (3) the *libration*, as it is call'd, whereby the Earth so proceeds in her orbit, as that her axis is [always] parallel to the axis of the World." (From Newton's note.)

The third of these motions is the "trepidation talk'd," to which M. refers in III. 482, 483, and which is there attributed to the Crystalline Sphere, in accordance with the Ptolemaic system. Here it is attributed to the Earth, as the followers of Copernicus taught. See the notes on III. 481—483.

131—140. 'You must attribute the three motions just mentioned *either* to several spheres moving in opposite directions and crossing each other obliquely (the Ptolemaic view), *or* to the Earth (the Copernican view). If you attribute them to the Earth, then you save the Sun his labour, i.e. of revolving round the Earth; and you also get rid of ("save") that wheel or "rhomb" called the "Primum Mobile," the motion of which is supposed to cause the revolution of the nine inner spheres round the Earth in twenty-four hours. It is only a theory that this wheel or "rhomb" exists, because it is too far off to be visible; and you need not believe in the theory, if the Earth revolves on her axis from west to east every twenty-four hours, and thus illuminates with the Sun's rays one-half of her globe while the other half, being turned away from ("averse") the Sun, is covered with darkness. The theory of the Primum Mobile (see *Appendix*, p. 88) was only invented to explain certain motions which really may be due to the Earth.'

132. *thwart*, crossing; the verb *thwart* = 'to go across' IV. 557.

134. *nocturnal and diurnal rhomb*; alluding to its revolution in twenty-four hours. "Wheel of day and night" at once varies and explains the whole phrase. *rhomb*, wheel, Gk. *ῥόμβος*.

137. *fetch day*, i.e. from the Sun.

140—145. Cf. Burton, "If the Earth move, it is a Planet, and shines to them in the Moon, and to the other Planetary inhabitants, as the Moon and they do to us upon the Earth: but shine she doth, as Galilie [Galileo], Kepler, and others prove, and then *per consequens*, the rest of the Planets are inhabited, as well as the Moon" (*Anatomy of Melancholy*, ninth ed., I. p. 385). He had previously (p. 383) referred to "that paradox of the Earth's motion, now (? 1621) so much in question." Some theologians found support for it in *Job* ix. 6.

140. *luminous*, illuminated.

142. *be as*, appear as.

145. M. seems to have thought that the Moon is inhabited. Cf. III. 459—462.

In v. 419, 420 he speaks of the "spots" in the Moon as vapours not entirely assimilated to her substance, hence visible like "clouds" against their luminous background. Yet in bk. I (287—291) he indicates that he knew the true explanation of the "spots," viz. that they are unevennesses in the Moon's surface caused by mountains and valleys.

148. *other suns*. "He seems to mean Jupiter and Saturn, whose satellites had been discovered by Galileo. Though he knew them to be planets, he might have regarded them as suns with respect to their attendant moons" so Keightley, followed by other editors, explains. But Burton, speaking of the "Fixed Stars" (see *Appendix*, p. 87), says: "If our world [i. e. the Earth] be small, why may we not suppose a plurality of worlds, those infinite stars visible in the Firmament to be so many Suns, to have likewise their subordinate planets? which some have held, and some still maintain. Kepler (I confess) will by no means admit that the fixed stars should be so many Suns, with their compassing planets" (*Anatomy of Melancholy*, I. 386]. That appears to me to be the theory to which M. alludes.

150. *male*, original direct light; *female*, reflected indirect light.

152. *stored*, qualifying *sexes*, I think.

153—158. 'That there should be such a vast unpeopled space, only made for the purpose of shining, and from each of its orbs only contributing (so great is the distance) a mere glimpse of light to this Earth which itself sends back light: this notion is open to dispute.'

157. *this habitable*, the Earth; an imitation of the Greek phrase ἡ οἰκουμένη (γῆ), 'the inhabited world.'

158. *obvious*, open, liable to.

159. i. e. whether the Copernican system or the Ptolemaic be right.

163—166. It was objected to the Copernican theory "that if the Earth mov'd round on her axle in twenty-four hours, we should be sensible of the rapidity and violence of the motion." M. has this objection in mind when he suggests that if the Earth does revolve, her motion may be smooth and even, and that the atmosphere may move as well as the Earth—which would, of course, make the sense of motion less perceptible to us. (From Newton's note.)

164. *inoffensive*, not striking against anything, not colliding (Lat. *inoffensus*). *spinning*, i. e. like a top.

172—178. Cf. VII. 120 (note).

183—197. Some editors regard these lines as an objection against

study of the difficult problems of physical science. I think rather that Milton protested against barren, metaphysical speculation of all sorts, and a spirit of excessive enquiry in general; cf. II. 558-569, *P. R.* IV. 286 *et seq.*, and *S. A.* 300-306.

191. *at large*, fully, without restriction; cf. I. 790.

194, 195. *prime*, chief. *what is more*, i.e. anything beyond that. *funie*, vanity; see G. *fond*, foolish; see G. *impertinence*, irrelevance, that which does not belong to or concern us.

197. *still to seek*, always deficient, at a loss. See *Comus* 366 note, and cf. the *Utopia* (Pitt Press ed. p. 131), "They do daylie practise... lest they should be to seek in the feate of arms," i.e. deficient in skill.

205. Raphael says later (229-246), that he was not acquainted with the story of Adam's creation, and mentions the reason why.

206. *till then*, i.e. till the day is spent.

212. *fruits*, dates. *palm-tree*, i.e. the date-palm.

213. *from labour*, i.e. when I come from=after (Gk. *ἐκ*).

216. The line has two extra syllables 'sati-ety' (see p. lxvii.).

218. "Grace is poured into thy lips," *Psalms* xlv. 2.

219, 220. *on thee . . . also*, i.e. as well as on Raphael.

225. *fellow-servant*, so the Angel described himself to St John, *Rev.* xxii. 9, "I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren."

228. *equal*, i.e. equal to his love of the Heavenly beings.

229. *that day*, viz. the sixth of Creation (VII. 519-550).

230. *uncouth*, unfamiliar, strange; see G.

234. *in*, engaged in. *his work*, i.e. the Creation.

237. *attempt*, viz. "to issue forth" (233).

239. *inure*, accustom; see G.

241. *barricadoed*, fortified; see G. Sin, who kept the gates of Hell, afterwards opened them "with ease" to let Satan out, but was unable to close them again (II. 871-880).

243, 244. *noise*, i.e. of the outcast Angels, who for nine days after their fall from Heaven lay prostrate on the lake of fire in Hell (I. 50-53). When they arose and had re-formed their scattered ranks then (I. 666-679)

"highly they *raged*

Against the Highest, and fierce with grasped arms

Clashed on their sounding shields the din of war,

Hurling defiance toward the vault of Heaven."

Those were the sounds of "furious rage" (244) heard by Raphael. Addison compares Vergil, *Aeneid* VI. 552-558.

245. *coasts*, regions; cf. II. 464, "the coasts of dark destruction."
246. *Sabbath-evening*; the evening before the Sabbath or seventh day on which the Almighty rested from all His work (VII. 592, 593). *had in charge*, were commanded.
247. *relation*, report, story; see G.
251. i.e. who was ever conscious of being created? Cf. v. 857,
858. The construction recalls the Greek idiom of a participle following a verb of perception like *ōīda*.
253. *induced me*, i.e. to attempt "to tell" (250). *as*, as if.
258. *gazed*; transitive, as in v. 272 ("gazed by all," i.e. gazed at).
260. *thitherward*, i.e. towards the sky (258). See VII. 506, note.
266. *fragrance*; perhaps used figuratively to express an intense sweetness of feeling. But I think that it refers literally to the sweet-scented air, and is combined by a sort of zeugma with *joy*; cf. I. 502 "flown with insolence and wine" (a similar combination of the literal cause with the abstract).
268. *went*, walked; a common Shakespearian use. Cf. *The Tempest*, III. 2. 21, 22, "We'll not run...Nor go neither."
269. *as*. The Second Edition prints *and*.
281. *from whom I have that*, to whom I owe it that.
282. *know*, can understand.
284. *drew air*; cf. ἔλκει τὸν ἀέρα (in rather late Greek writers).
292. *stood at my head*; Keightley quotes *Iliad* II. 56.
- 292—294. *dream...fancy*; see v. 100—113 (the passage on dreams).
295. *methought*; see G.
296. *wants*, requires, is ready for, thee.
- 298—306. See VII. 535—539, note.
303. M. always describes the "garden of bliss," i.e. Paradise, as situate on the level summit of a lofty hill, the steep slopes of which are covered with trees and shrubs (cf. "woody"). It is a plateau or table-land of circular shape (304). A similar idea, based on the references in *Ezekiel* xxviii. 13, 14, to "Eden" and the "holy mountain of God" is found in Dante and Ariosto. See IV. 134 (note), 172—177.
- plain*, flat (F. *plain*, level, Lat. *planus*). Cf. *Midsommer-Night's Dream*, III. 2. 404, "Follow me to plainer ground."
305. *that*, so that.
311. *lively shadowed*, vividly represented.
316. *submiss*, cast down, prostrate; see G. *rear'd*, raised up.
- 319—333. *Genesis* ii. 15—17. See VII. 46.
323. *of the tree*; connect with *taste* (327). *operation*, effect.

328. *consequence*, i.e. of tasting.
330. *transgressed*, having been broken. *die*, be subject to death.
331. *mortal*; cf. Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici*, xxxiii., "before his fall, man also was immortal." Many of the Fathers of the Church taught the doctrine that Adam, if he had not sinned, would not have died but been translated to Heaven. M. speaks doubtfully on the subject (v. 493-505), and in *Christian Doctrine*, viii. says, "it is evident that God, at least after the fall of man, limited human life"—which implies that this limitation *may* have preceded the Fall.
335. *yet*, still. *though in*, though it is in.
336. Scan *aspect* (look); see vii. 379, note.
337. *purpose*, discourse; see G. *renewed*, began again; intransitive.
- 338—341. *Genesis* i. 28. See vii. 530—534.
- 342, 343. *each . . their*. Cf. 393 and see vii. 453, note.
344. *from thee their names*; cf. vii. 493. *fealty*, homage; see G.
350. *these*, the beasts.
351. *stooped*, stooping. *his*, see G.
- 352, 353. M. says in *Christian Doctrine*, vii. (*ad fin.*): "Man being formed after the image of God, it followed as a necessary consequence that he should be endued with natural wisdom, holiness, and righteousness. Certainly without extraordinary wisdom he could not have given names to the whole animal creation with such *sudden intelligence*." Cf. too his *Tetrachordon*: "Adam...had the wisdom given him to know all creatures, and to name them according to their properties" (*P. W.* iii. 336).
354. *apprehension*, perception; cf. *Hamlet*, ii. 2. 319, "in apprehension how like a god!" See also in *Henry V.* iii. 7. 145.
357. *by what name*, i.e. "may I adore thee?" (359, 360).
371. *replenished*; see vii. 447.
374. So Eve says of the brute creation (ix. 558, 559):
 " in their looks
 Much reason, and in their actions, oft appears."
379. Cf. Abraham's words, *Genesis* xviii. 30.
384. *sort*, prove fitting, suit; cf. x. 651, *P. R.* i. 200, "I'll sorting with my present state." So in *Henry V.* iv. i. 63.
386. *disparity*, the inequality between man and beast.
387. Hume explains: "*the one intense*; man high, wound up, and strain'd to nobler understanding, and of more lofty faculty. *the other still remiss*; the animal let down, and slacker, grovelling in more low and mean perceptions.

A musical metaphor [cf. 'harmony,' 384], from strings, of which the stretch'd and highest give a smart and sharp sound, the slack a flat and heavy one." Lat. *remissus* = 'slack, relaxed'; see *submiss*, 316.

The construction of the line is absolute—the one *being* intense' etc.

388. *cannot...prove*; the subject of the verbs is *which*, in 385.

390. *participate*, share; cf. IX. 717; we say, 'participate *in*.'

396. *converse*, have fellowship with; cf. VII. 9.

399. *nice*; not 'pleasing' (its modern sense), but 'dainty'; said with a touch of reproof to Adam for being fastidious and "subtle" in his tastes. See G.

402. *in pleasure*, in the midst of pleasant things. *Eden* means 'pleasure'; cf. IV. 27, 28.

405—407. Passages like this, and III. 383, 384, v. 603—606, reveal the Arianism of Milton's theology; it is shown clearly in *Christian Doctrine* v., which treats "Of the Son of God."

407. Newton quotes Horace, *Odes* I. 12. 17, 18:

unde nil maius generatur ipso,

nec viget quidquam simile aut secundum.

409. *and those*; referring, I suppose, to the Heavenly beings.

413. An allusion to *Romans* xi. 33.

417. *in degree*, only relatively perfect. *the cause*, which thing, viz. his imperfection, is the cause.

418. *conversation*, intercourse; cf. the verb *converse* in 396.

421. *through all numbers absolute*. Newton noted that this is a Latin turn of phrase = 'perfect in every respect'; from Lat. *numerus* in the sense 'a part of a whole, detail.' Cf. *omnibus numeris* = 'in every detail' in the following passages: *mundus perfectus expletusque omnibus suis numeris atque partibus*—Cicero, *de Natura Deorum* 2. 13; and *liber numeris omnibus absolutus*—Pliny, *Epistles* 9. 38. Here M. uses the Latinism with a kind of quibble, *numbers* being in antithesis to *one*. For *absolute* = 'perfect,' cf. 548.

423. *his single imperfection*, his imperfection in being single, i.e. unwedded. Cf. phrases in Shakespeare like "single blessedness" = blessedness in being single, *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, I. 1. 78; "sterile curse" = curse in being sterile, *Julius Caesar*, I. 2. 9.

425. *in unity defective*, defective as long as he is but one, i.e. single *unity*; in its literal sense, 'oneness, the state of being one.' *which*, a thing which, viz. "to manifest...and beget."

429. *so pleased*, if so inclined.

433. *from prone*, from being prone, i.e. not upright; an imi-

tation of the use of *ἐκ* in Greek and *ex* in Latin to express change from one condition to another. Cf. Sophocles, *Œdipus Tyrannus*, 454, τυφλὸς ἐκ δεδορκότος; and Horace, *Odes* III. 30. 12, *ex humili potens*. M. uses this idiom several times in prose and verse, but commonly with the preposition *of*. Cf. *The Tenure of Kings*, "raised them to be high and rich *of* poor and base" (*P.W.* II. 47). So Wordsworth in *The Recluse*, "Happier *of* happy though I be." See IV. 153, XII. 167 (notes).

441. *my image*; cf. VII. 519, 520.

443. *freely*, spontaneously; without warning from his Maker.

445. *Genesis* II. 18.

448. *fit...meet*; adjectives used as nouns; cf. 90, 91, 453.

450. Cf. X. 128, "My other self, the partner of my life" (viz. Eve).

453—459. The main verbs are *sunk* and *sought* (457).

453. *my earthly*, my human nature; see 448, above.

457—486. *Genesis* II. 21, 22.

460, 461. *the cell of fancy*; for this idea cf. V. 102—109. See *Numbers* xxiv. 4 ("falling into a trance, but having his eyes open").

462, 463. *abstract*, *abstracted*; see *satiated* in the *Glossary*. *I saw ...where*, i.e. the place where.

465. *my left side*. "The Scripture says only 'one of his ribs,' but Milton follows those interpreters who suppose this rib was taken from the left side, as being nearer to the heart"—Newton. Cf. *cordial*, 'belonging to the heart' (Lat. *cor*) in 466. Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici*, XXI. says, "Whether Eve was framed out of the left side of Adam, I dispute not."

471. *different sex*, i.e. *of* different sex.

473. Cf. 547, 548, "so absolute...in herself complete."

481. *out of hope*, i.e. beyond; cf. 'out of doubt.'

485. "The Lord God...brought her unto the man," *Genesis* II. 22.

488. Newton quotes Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, IV. 4. 120, "The lustre in your eye, *heaven* in your cheek."

491. *turn*, act, favour. *amends*, i.e. for Adam's previous loneliness.

494. *envy*, grudge.

494—499. *Genesis* II. 23, 24; *Matthew* xix. 4—6; *Mark* x. 6—8.

495. *myself*; since Eve was formed from Adam's own body.

497. *forgo*, leave, abandon; see G.

498. *adhere*=the Scriptural word "cleave" (*Genesis* II. 24).

500. *divinely*, by divine means (cf. 485); Lat. *divinitus*. Cf. *S. A.* 226, "The work to which I was divinely called."

502. *conscience*, consciousness=Lat. *conscientia*; cf. *Hebrews* x. 2, "because that the worshippers once purged should have had no more conscience of sins." So in the second Sonnet on his blindness, l. 10.

503. *wooded...won*. A proverbial combination; cf. *Richard III.* I. 2. 228, 229:

"Was ever woman in this humour woo'd?

Was ever woman in this humour won?"

Sec I *Henry VI.* v. 3. 77, 78; *Titus Andronicus*, II. I. 82, 83.

504. *not obvious*, i.e. retiring, modest; not 'forward'; see G.

507. *turned*, i.e. away.

508. *honour*. Cf. *Hebrews* xiii. 4, "Marriage is honourable in all," and the *Prayer-Book*, "holy Matrimony...is an honourable estate."

513. *selectest*, most choice, best. *influence*; see G.

514. *gave sign*. This notion of omens is imitated from the classical poets. When Eve eat the fruit of the forbidden tree

"Earth felt the wound; and Nature from her seat,

Sighing through all her works, *gave signs* of woe,

That all was lost" (IX. 782—784).

518. *amorous bird of night*, i.e. "the love-lorn nightingale," *Comus*, 234, whose song is described as "love-laboured," v. 41. See VII. 435, note; and his first Sonnet.

519, 520. Cf. XI. 588, 589, "the evening-star, Love's harbinger, appeared" (i.e. forerunner). The evening-star Hesperus was also called *stella Veneris*. See VII. 366, note. *On his hill-top*; Newton compares Catullus LXII. 1; Vergil, *Eclogues*, VIII. 30.

533. Cf. *S. A.* 1003—1007.

534—536. *or...or*, either...or; cf. *Coriolanus*, III. I. 208, 209:

"Or let us stand to our authority,

Or let us lose it";

and *Julius Cæsar*, v. 5. 3, "he is or ta'en or slain."

534. *failed in me*, did not succeed entirely when she created me.

537—539. So in *S. A.* 1025—1029 the Chorus ask why women are fickle: is it because:

"such outward ornament

Was lavished on their sex, that inward gifts

Were left for haste unfinished, judgment scant,

Capacity not raised to apprehend

Or value what is best?"

In those lines, as here in 540—542, we have Milton's own opinion as to

the relative character and intellectual capacity of man and woman. "Not equal" is his view (IV. 296).

547. *absolute*, perfect, "complete" (548). Cf. 471—474.

548. *so well to know*, i.e. *she seems* (547).

552. *degraded*, abashed, set down from its rank.

553. *loses*, i.e. the contest—is beaten. *discouraged*, put out of countenance. *like folly shows*, appears as folly.

554. *on her wait*, pay deference to her.

555, 556. i.e. designed by God from the first, not made to supply some need or "occasion" that arose afterwards.

560. *contracted*, frowning, in sign of displeasure. Cicero has *contrahere frontem* in this sense, *pro Cluentio*, 26.

561—578. Cf. the very similar passage in bk. X. (144—156), where, after the Fall, Adam is rebuked by God for having yielded to Eve (*Genesis* iii. 12) and eaten the forbidden fruit.

569. *Ephesians* v. 28, 29. Cf. the *Prayer-Book*, "I take thee to my wedded wife...to love and to cherish."

570. *not thy subjection*; a favourite sentiment with M.; cf. IX. 1182—1186, X. 145—149, *S. A.* 1053—1060.

573. *that skill*, that knowledge or wisdom, i.e. self-esteem.

574. "The head of the woman is the man," 1 *Corinthians* xi. 3.

576. *adorn*, adorned—cf. 482. The word is either an imitation of Ital. *adorno*, and M. is fond of Italianised forms (see pp. 94, 95); or an instance of the Elizabethan tendency to abbreviate participles (see *satiare* in the *Glossary*).

577. *honour*; see 508, note.

579. *touch*. Cf. Adam's words, 530.

580. *dear*; often used by Elizabethans with an emphasising force = 'intense, extreme.'

583. *divulged* = "made common," communicated.

590. *hath his seat in*, is based on. The language recalls *Twelfth Night*, II. 4. 21:

"It gives a very echo to the seat
Where Love is throned."

591. *scale*, ladder (Lat. *scala*); cf. XI. 656, and Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici*, xxxiii., "there is in this universe, a stair, or scale, of creatures, rising with a comely method and proportion."

592. We find this idea of 'Heavenly love' in *Comus*, 1003—1011 (the allegory of Cupid and Psyche), *Lycidas*, 176, 177, and Milton's Latin elegy, the *Epitaphium Damonis*, 217. Note also that in the

first three drafts of his contemplated drama of *Paradise Lost* a personification of "Heavenly Love" appears among the characters; see *Introduction*, pp. xxxvi—xxxviii. No doubt, the idea was suggested by Plato's discourse in the *Symposium* (180 *et seq.*) on the two types of love—*οὐράνιος* "Ἔρως, 'divine love,' and *πάνδημος* "Ἔρως; cf. Milton's reference to "the divine volumes of Plato" (by which probably he meant in particular the *Symposium* and *Phædrus*) in a well-known passage of autobiography in the *Apology for Smeectymnuus*, *P. W.* III. 119. Spenser has a *Hymn of Heavenly Love*, but its sentiment is different; rather Christian than classical.

thou may'st ascend. Cf. Wordsworth, *Ladania*, 145—147,

"Lean by a mortal yearning to ascend.

Seeking a higher object:—Love was given.

Encouraged, sanctioned, chiefly for that end."

Thyer refers to the *Symposium*. 211.

597. *kinds*; species.

598. *genial*, nuptial; cf. Lat. *gemalis lectus* (or *torus*).

599. *mysterious*, full of awe; see G.

601. *decencies*, graceful traits, touches of comeliness, see G.

604. Cf. the definition of friendship as 'one soul in two bodies.'

607. *these subject not*, these do not bring me into 'subjection' (570);

i. e. the charming qualities of Eve mentioned in 600—603.

608. *thence*, from them. *therefore*, because of that, viz. what he 'feels.' *foiled*, overcome.

609—611. i. e. though he meets with various objects presented to him by his senses under various forms, yet he still preserves freedom of choice.

615. Cf. Wordsworth, *Ladania*, 97, 98:

"He spake of love, such love as spirits feel

In worlds whose course is equable and pure."

624. *in eminence*, in a supreme degree.

624, 625. So in I. 426—428 he describes spiritual forms as

"Not tied or manacled with joint or limb,

Nor founded on the brittle strength of bones,

Like cumbrous flesh."

(Cf. VI. 344—353.)

630. *I can*, i. e. speak, or 'remain.'

631. *Earth's green Cape*, Cape Verd ('green'), on the West coast of Africa. *Verdant Isles*, the Cape Verd Islands; commonly identified with the classical *Hesperidum Insule*, in which were the "Hesperian Gardens" (III. 568) where grew the golden apples guarded

by the daughters of Hesperus and the dragon Ladon, See III. 568, IV. 250, notes.

632. *Hesperian sets*, i.e. in the west. I think the rhythm shows that *Hesperian* qualifies *sun* (630), not *Iles*.

634. *Lim*, i.e. love. See I *John* v. 3, "For this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments."

636. *free-will*, your will unswayed by passion.

637. *admit*, approve of, allow.

639. *persevering*, standing firm; cf. VII. 632.

641. *arbitrement*, decision; cf. *arbiter*, judge, II. 909.

645. *benediction*, thanks; expressions of gratitude for his kindness.

647. *from whose*, from *him* whose.

648. See VII. 41, note.

651. *good*, propitious, gracious: *sis bonus, o, felixque tuis*, Vergil, *Eclogue*, v. 65. So *Lycidas*, 184 (see note on).

oft return. Raphael does not appear again in the poem; after the Temptation and Fall, a sterner Archangel, Michael (XI. 234, 235), is sent from Heaven to lead Adam forth from Paradise.

APPENDIX.

A.

THE COSMOLOGY OF *PARADISE LOST*.

PARTS of *Paradise Lost* are not easily understood without some knowledge of Milton's conception of the Universe. I shall attempt therefore to set forth some of the main aspects of his cosmology: to explain, in fact, what he means by constantly recurrent terms such as 'Empyrean,' 'Chaos,' 'Spheres,' and the like.

It is in Book v. that he carries us back farthest in respect of time. The events described by Raphael (from line 563, onwards) precede not only the Creation of the World, but also the expulsion of the rebels from Heaven. And at this era, when the seeds of discord are being sown, we hear of two divisions of Space—Heaven and Chaos (v. 577, 578): Heaven lying above Chaos. *Space divided into: Heaven, Chaos;*

In Book vi. the contest foreshadowed in Book v. has begun. Now a third region is mentioned—Hell (vi. 53—55): a gloomy region carved out of the nethermost depths of Chaos. Its remoteness from Heaven may be inferred from i. 73, 74. Milton's working hypothesis, then—his general conception of space and its partitionment prior to the Creation—may be expressed roughly thus: above¹, Heaven; beneath, Hell; between, a great gulf, Chaos. *and Hell.*

Let us see what he has to say concerning each.

Heaven, or the Empyrean², is the abode of the Deity and His angelic subjects. It is a vast region, but not infinite. In x. 380 Milton speaks of its "empyrean bounds"; in ii. 1049 of its "battlements³"; in vi. 860 of its "crystal wall." *Description of Heaven.*

¹ i.e. from the point of view of this World, the position of which we shall see.

² The terms are synonymous. *Empyrean*=Lat. *empyræus*, from Gk. *ἐμπερος*. The notion was that the Empyrean was formed of the element of fire (πῦρ).

³ Cf. Lucretius' *flammanitia mœnia mundi* (l. 74) and Gray's "flaming bounds of Space" (*Progress of Poesy*).

These fence Heaven in from Chaos. When Satan voyages through space, in quest of the new-created World, he kens far off the crystal line of light that radiates from the empyreal bulwarks, marking where runs the severance betwixt Heaven and Chaos (II. 1034 *et seq.*). In the wall of Heaven are the "everlasting doors" opening on to Chaos (v. 253—256, VII. 205—209). The shape of Heaven Milton does not determine (II. 1048); perhaps it is a square (x. 381). Its internal configuration and appearance he describes in language which reminds us of some lines (574—576) in Book v. May not the Earth, says Raphael, be "but the shadow of Heaven, and things therein Each to other like, more than on Earth is thought"? Milton expands this idea, and developing to the utmost the symbolical, objective presentment of the New Jerusalem in the *Revelation*, depicts a Heaven scarce distinguishable from an ideal Earth¹. In fact, his Heaven and his Garden of Eden have much in common; so that Satan exclaims, "O Earth, how like to Heaven!" (ix. 99). Thus the Heavenly landscape (if I may describe it in Miltonic language) has its vales, wood-covered heights and plains (vi. 70, 640--646); it is watered by living streams (v. 652); and fair with trees and flowers²—immortal amaranth and celestial roses (III. 353--364), and vines (v. 635). Daylight and twilight are known there (v. 627—629, 645, vi. 2—15). And soft winds fan the angels as they sleep (v. 654, 655).

These angelic beings, divided, according to tradition (see p. 90), into nine Orders, each with particular duties, perform their ministries and solemn rites (VII. 149) in the courts of God (v. 650) and at the high temple of Heaven (VII. 148). Their worship is offered under forms which recall, now the ritual of the Temple-services of Israel, now the inspired visions of St John. They celebrate the Deity who dwells invisible, throned inaccessible (III. 377) on the holy mount (vi. 5), howbeit omnipresent, as omnipotent, throughout Heaven and all space: round whose throne there rests a radiance of excessive brightness, at which even Seraphim, highest of Hierarchies, veil their eyes (III. 375—382).

It has been objected that Milton's picture is too material. But he himself takes special pains to remind us that the external imagery under which he represents his concepts is symbolical, not literal—

¹ The Earth deteriorates after the fall of man (x. 651 *et seq.*).

² This is a descriptive detail most conspicuous in early Christian apocalyptic works; see next page.

adopted merely as a means of conveying *some* impression of that which is intrinsically indescribable. The truth, I believe, is that he has applied to Heaven the descriptions of 'Paradise' in the apocalyptic literature of the first centuries of Christianity. The *Revelation of Peter* (dating perhaps from early in the second century A.D.) affords an illustration of these descriptions. St Peter is represented as asking our Lord where are the souls of the righteous dead—"of what sort is the world wherein they are and possess glory? And the Lord shewed him [me] a very great space outside this world shining excessively with light, and the air that was there illuminated with the rays of the sun, and the earth itself blooming with unfading flowers, and full of spices and fair-flowering plants, incorruptible and bearing a blessed fruit: and so strong was the perfume that it was borne even to us¹ from thence. And the dwellers in that place were clad in the raiment of angels of light, and their raiment was like their land: and angels encircled them²."

His picture of Heaven traditional.

The second region, for which Chaos seems the simplest title, is also variously called "the wasteful Deep" (II. 961, VI. 862), "the utter Deep" (VI. 716), and "the Abyss" (I. 21, VII. 211, 234). Here rules the god of Chaos and his consort Night (II. 959—963). According to the long description in Book II. 890 *et seq.*, this region is an illimitable ocean, composed of the embryon atoms whereof all substances may be formed—whereof Hell and the World are afterwards formed. It is a vast agglomeration of matter in its primal state, "neither sea, nor shore, nor air, nor fire." Here prevails eternal anarchy of storm and wind and wave and stunning sounds. In VII. 210—214 the Messiah and His host stand at the open gate of Heaven and look forth on to Chaos; and what they behold is an Abyss "Omnageous as a sea, dark, wasteful, wild."

¹ i.e. St Peter and the other disciples who are with our Lord on the Mount of Olives. See *The Gospel according to Peter, and the Revelation of Peter* (Cambridge University Press ed. 1892, pp. 48, 49).

² Mr James (whose version I have just quoted) gives a similar passage from a rather later work, the *History of Baruch and Joraphat*, wherein the Paradise of the just is revealed in a vision as "a plain of vast extent, flourishing with fair and very sweet-smelling flowers, where he saw plants of all manner of kinds, loaded with strange and wondrous fruits, most pleasant to the eye and desirable to touch. And the leaves of the trees made clear music to a soft breeze and sent forth a delicate fragrance, whereof none could tire. And through this wondrous and vast plain [he passed] to a city which gleamed with an unspeakable brightness and had its walls of translucent gold, and its battlements of stones the like of which none has ever seen. And a light from above filled all the streets, that of and certain winged hosts each to itself a light, abode there singing in melodies never heard by mortal ears."

The creation of Hell, we may perhaps assume, just precedes the *Description of* fall of the angels¹. It has been prepared for their punishment when, after the proclamation in v. 600—615, they have revealed their rebellious spirit. To form Hell a part of the abyss has been taken. In II. 1002 Chaos complains that his realm has been encroached upon by Hell—"stretching far and wide beneath." Round it runs a wall of fire (I. 61); overhead spreads a fiery vault or cope (I. 298, 345). At the descent of the angels Hell lies open to receive them (VI. 53—55); then the roof closes (VI. 875), and they are prisoners. Henceforth the only outlet from Hell into Chaos is through certain gates, the charge whereof is assigned to Sin (II. 643 *et seq.*). At her side, as protector, stands Death, ready with his dart to meet all comers (II. 853—855). To please Satan (her sire), Sin opens the gates. Afterwards she cannot shut them; and all who will may pass to and fro between Hell and Chaos. Later on (when the bridge from Hell has been made) this change becomes terribly significant. For the inside of Hell, we hear of a pool of fire (I. 52, 221); dry land that burns like fire (I. 227—229); and dear regions of excessive cold and heat, intersected by rivers (II. 575 *et seq.*). Here again the picture is traditional, owing, no doubt, much to Dante, who in turn owed much to the apocalyptic descriptions before mentioned.

Immediately after the expulsion of Satan the World is created *Description of* (VII. 131 *et seq.*). By "the World" is meant the whole *the World.* Universe of Earth, seas, stellar bodies and the framework wherein they are set—in short, all that the eye of man beholds. The Son of God goes forth into the abyss (VII. 218 *et seq.*), and with golden compass marks out the limits of this World; so that Chaos is again despoiled of part of his realm (as he laments in *Hung in* II. 1001—1006). The new World is a globe or hollow *Chaos.* sphere, suspended in the abyss, and at its topmost point fastened by a golden chain (see II. 1051, note) to Heaven. In II. 1004 1006 Chaos tells Satan of this Universe:

"Another world,
Hung o'er my realm, linked in a golden chain
To that side Heaven from whence your legions fell."
The length of this chain, i.e. the distance of the World from the

¹ Cf. the English *Faust-book* (1592) where Faustus asks when Hell was made and Mephistophiles replies—"Faustus, thou shalt know, that before the fall of my lord Lucifer was no hell, but even then was hell ordained" (Thoms' *English Prose Romances*, III. 185).

Empyrean, is not stated, I believe; but the distance was not—comparatively—very great (II. 1051—1053, VII. 618).

Also, between the globe (again, on its upper side, i.e. that nearest to the Empyrean) and the gate of Heaven there stretches a golden stair, used by good angels for descent and ascent when they are despatched to Earth on any duty such as that which Raphael discharges in Books v.—VIII. This stair (suggested by Jacob's dream?) is not always let down (III. 501—518). And hard by the point where the golden stair touches the surface of the globe there is—in later times, after the fall of man—another stair (or rather bridge), which leads, not upward to the Empyrean, but downward to Hell: i.e. it extends over the portion of Chaos that intervenes between Hell and the World (II. 1024—1033, *Joined to Heaven.* X. 282 *et seq.*). This bridge¹, the work of Sin and Death, is used by evil angels when they would come from Hell (its gates being open) to Earth—"to tempt or punish mortals" (II. 1032). *Joined to Hell.*

Hence a good angel and an evil, visiting mankind simultaneously, the one descending the golden stair, the other ascending the bridge, will meet at this point of the surface of the globe. And to enter the globe, i.e. to get through its outer surface to the inside, each must pass through the same aperture in the surface, and descend by the same passage into the interior: as Milton explains in Book III. There he describes how Satan journeys through Chaos, till he reaches and walks² on the outer surface of the World (III. 418—430). But how to pass to the interior? The surface is impenetrable, and there seems to be no inlet. Then suddenly the reflection of the golden stair which chances to be let down directs his steps to the point where the stair and the bridge come into contact with the globe, and here he finds what he seeks—an aperture in the surface by which he can look down into the interior. Further, there is at this aperture a broad passage plunging right down into the World—being, really, a continuation of the golden stair. Thus Satan, standing on the bottom step of the stair, and looking straight up, sees overhead *The entrance into the World.*

¹ In the English *Faust-book*, 1592 (Thoms' *English Prose Romances*, III. 194) Mephistophiles says: "We have also with us in hell a ladder, reaching of exceeding highth, as though the top of the same would touch the heaven, to which the damned ascend to seek the blessing of God, but through their infidelity, when they are at very highest degree, they fall down again into their former miseries." With the last part of this extract cf. *P. L.* III. 484 *et seq.* It seems to me highly probable that Milton studied the *Faust-book* (which was immensely popular), as well as Marlowe's dramatic adaptation of it; see II. 596, note.

² i.e. like a fly moving up a lamp-globe (Masson).

the gate of Heaven; and, looking straight down, sees the interior of the globe, leagues beneath (III. 526 *et seq.*).

Similarly on the seventh day of the Creation the angels, gazing from Heaven's gate down the stair and down the broad passage which continues the stair, see, as Satan did, into the new-made World (VII. 617—619):

“not far, founded in view

On the clear hyaline, the glassy sea¹.”

In short, at the point in the surface of the globe nearest to the Emphyrean, there is a choice of ways: the stair leading to Heaven; the bridge to Hell; and the broad passage to the interior of the World:

“in little space

The confines met of empyrean Heaven,

And of this World; and, on the left hand, Hell

With long reach interposed; three several ways,

In sight, to each of these three places led².”

And descending the broad passage what would an angel find in the interior of the globe? What is this globe as Milton, following the astronomy of his³ time, has described it?

The globe as then conceived may best be likened (in Plato's comparison⁴) to one of those puzzles or boxes in which

*The globe of
the World: its
interior.*

are contained a number of boxes of gradually lessening size: remove the first, and you shall find another inside,

rather smaller: remove the second, and you shall come

on a third, still smaller: and so on, till you reach the centre—the kernel, as it were, round which the different boxes were but successive shells. Now, of the globe of the World the Earth (they said) is the kernel (it is often called ‘the centre’⁵); and—a

stationary body itself—it is encased by numerous shells or

*Milton's
astronomy.*

Spheres: the number of the Spheres being a subject of dispute and varying in the different astronomical systems.

Milton, accepting⁶ for the purposes of his epic the Ptolemaic

¹ i.e. the Crystalline Sphere.

² X. 320—324.

³ I do not mean to imply that the Ptolemaic system was still generally believed in at the time when *P. L.* was published, but that it satisfied Elizabethan writers, of whom Milton was the last.

⁴ See the Myth of Er in the *Republic* 616, 617; and the note on *Arcades* 64 (Pitt Press ed. p. 59), where the passage is translated.

⁵ Cf. perhaps 1. 686; and the *Winter's Tale*, II. 1. 102, *Troilus*, I. 3. 85.

⁶ He was evidently familiar with the Copernican system (cf. IV. 592—597, VIII. 15—178); and the question has been asked why he did not follow it in the poem. The answer surely is obvious. The Copernican theory was new, without a scrap of literary association and with no poetic terminology: whereas the Ptolemaic view and

system as expanded by the astronomer Alphonsus X. of Castille, recognizes ten Spheres. A Sphere, it should be noted, is merely a circular region of space—not necessarily of solid matter. Indeed, of the ten Spheres only one, the *Primum Mobile*, appears in Milton's description to consist of some material substance. Seven of them are the Spheres of the planets, i.e. the orbits in which the planets severally move.

The order of the Spheres, which fit one within the other¹, is, if we start from the Earth as the stationary centre² of the Universe, as follows: first, the Spheres of the planets *The Spheres*. successively—the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn; then, outside the last of these (i.e. Saturn), the Firmament or *Cælum Stellatum*, in which are set the 'fixed stars'; then, outside the Firmament, the Crystalline Sphere; and last, the *Primum Mobile* enclosing all the others. Compare the famous lines (481—483) in Book III. describing the passage of the souls of the departed from Earth to Heaven:

"They pass the planets seven, and pass the fixed,
And that Crystalline Sphere whose balance weighs
The trepidation talked, and that First Moved."

It remains to note three or four points in these lines. Milton treats the Sun and Moon as planets (v. 177, x. 651—658). Compare Shakespeare, *Troilus*, I. 3. 89, "the glorious planet Sol," and *Antony*, v. 2. 241, "the fleeting Moon no planet is of mine." The 'fixed stars' are referred to four times in the poem—but only once (v. 176) with the word 'star' added: in the other places (III. 481, v. 621, x. 661) they are called simply "the fixed." Though they are unmoved, their Sphere revolves round the Earth, moving from East to West, completing a revolution in twenty-four hours, and carrying with it the seven inner Spheres³. The rapid motion of this Sphere is glanced at in v. 176 ("their orb⁴ that flies"). The Crystalline Sphere and the *Primum Mobile* were not included in the original Ptolemaic system. They

its delightful fictions as to the Spheres, their harmonies, and the like, had become a tradition of literature, expressed in terms that recalled Marlowe and Shakespeare and Jonson and the *sacri vates* of English verse. To have surrendered this poetic heritage merely out of deference to science had been impossible pedantry—a perverse concession to the cold philosophy that "empties the haunted air and unweaves the rainbow" (*Lamia*).

¹ Cf. Marlowe's *Faustus* VI. 38, 39:

"As are the elements, such are the spheres,
Mutually folded in each other's orb."

² Cf. VIII. 32 "the sedentary Earth;" and see IX. 107—109.

³ These have separate motions of their own.

⁴ 'Orb' and 'Sphere' are interchangeable terms—when it suits Milton.

were added later, to explain certain phenomena which the earlier astronomers had not observed, and for which their theories offered no explanation. Thus the supposed swaying or "trepidation" of the Crystalline Sphere was held to be the cause of the precession of the equinoxes. This Sphere is described as a vast expanse of waters (see note on VII. 261). It encircles the eight inner Spheres. The original notion may perhaps be traced to the waters "above the firmament" in *Genesis* i. 7. Compare the picture in VII. 270—271 of the World

"Built on circumfluous waters calm, in wide
Crystalline ocean."

The main purpose that this "ocean" serves is to protect the Earth from the evil "influences" of Chaos; those "fierce extremes" of temperature which might penetrate through the outside shell (the *Primum Mobile*) and "distemper" the whole fabric of the Universe, did not this wall of waters interpose (VII. 271—273).

Last comes the *Primum Mobile*¹, "the first² convex" of the World, i.e. the outside case of our box or puzzle. It is made, as we saw, of hard matter; but for its crust of substance, Chaos would break in on the World, and Darkness make inroads (III. 419—421). The first moved itself, it communicates motion to the nine inner Spheres. In Elizabethan literature allusions to it are not infrequent: we will conclude by giving three. Compare Spenser, *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie*:

"these heavens still by degrees arise,
Until they come to their first Movers bound,
That in his mightie compasse doth comprize,
And carry all the rest with him around";

and Marlowe, *Faustus*³:

"He views the clouds, and planets, and the stars,
The tropic zones, and quarters of the sky,
From the bright circle of the horned moon
Even to the height of *Primum Mobile*";

and Bacon, *Of Seditions and Troubles*: "for the motions of the greatest persons in a government ought to be as the motions of the planets under *Primum Mobile*."

¹ Dante's *primo giro* (*Purgatorio*, l. 15).

² III. 419. To Satan coming from Chaos it is the first; in our calculation, as we started from the Earth, it is the last.

³ Scene vi. *chorus*, ll. 5—18, in the third Quarto, 1616; the passage is not in the two earlier editions of 1604 and 1609 (Ward, p. 178).

B.

URANIA, THE HEAVENLY MUSE.

Milton's invocation is addressed to the Muse of sacred song and inspiration—the Heavenly power which “taught” Moses on Sinai (I. 6—10), and inspired David on Sion (III. 29—32) and the other prophets and singers of Israel. It is to her that he appeals at the beginning of the poem (I. 6), “Sing, Heavenly Muse.” Twice he speaks of great poets being “taught by the Heavenly Muse” (III. 19, *Comus*, 515); and here he gives her the particular name “Urania” = ‘the Heavenly one.’ adapted from Greek mythology.

As to the character of this divine power whose existence he postulates, he does not, naturally, speak with definiteness: in I. 17—26 he expressly distinguishes her from the Holy Spirit; in *P. R.* I. 8—17 he *seems* to identify them.

The important point is that for Milton this “Heavenly Muse” is a truly divine power, in whom he believes with a conviction which gives intense reality to his invocations.

With the classical poets (Homer perhaps excepted) the invocation of the Muse was, I suppose, merely a literary convention—a piece of the traditional ‘machinery’ of poetry: one does not credit Horace with much faith in the Calliope whom he begged to “descend from Heaven.” Milton has faith, and when he asks Urania to aid him he *means* every word of his petition.

It is in virtue too of his assistance by this higher and holier power than the classical poets knew of that he speaks of his poetry as soaring “above” theirs. Compare VII. 3, 4 and I. 12—15, where, addressing the “Heavenly Muse,” he says.

“I

Invoke thy aid to my adventurous song,
That with no middle flight intends to soar
Above the Aonian mount” (i.e. Mt Helicon).

He does not, I think, intend to suggest that he will surpass, say, Vergil as an artist—as a master of style and imagery and other qualities which constitute the art of poetry; but only that he is filled with a higher inspiration to treat of higher things. In fact, his claim is to moral, not artistic, superiority; it resolves itself almost into the difference between Christianity and Paganism. We should remember that

in Milton's eyes the poet is a teacher in the first place, a singer in the second: he must write "to God's glory, by the honour and *instruction* of his country," and be "an interpreter and relater of the *best* and sagest things among his own citizens." See the preface to book II. of *Church Government*, and cf. the *Introduction* to this volume, p. xxix.

The name "Urania" which he assigns to his Muse means, of course, 'the Heavenly One,' Gk. *οὐρανία*¹. In classical mythology Urania was commonly regarded as the Muse of astronomy; compare a poem on "The Muses" by Nicholas Grimald:

"Uranie, her globes to view all bent,

The ninefolde heauen observes with fixed face".

In these lines Urania evidently typifies astronomy according to the ordinary classical conception of her attributes; and a similar illustration might be cited from Sylvester's *Du Bartas* (Grosart's ed., II. 3). In treating Urania otherwise than as the Muse of astronomy Milton had been anticipated by other poets. Spenser, for example, in *The Teares of the Muses* makes her represent the highest knowledge—"the heavenlie light of knowledge"; while for Drummond of Hawthornden she meant, it would seem, the power of spiritual wisdom, one section of his poems being entitled "Urania, or Spiritual Poems." Influenced, no doubt, by *Paradise Lost* VII. 1 *et seq.*, Shelley in *Adonais* II.—IV. and Tennyson in *In Memoriam* regard Urania as the Muse of lofty verse: a conception very similar to Milton's though less distinctively religious.

C.

THE ORDERS OF THE HEAVENLY BEINGS.

According to a mediæval belief the Heavenly beings were divided into three Hierarchies, and each Hierarchy was subdivided into three Orders or Choirs. These Orders comprised the Seraphim, Cherubim and Thrones (*θρόνοι*), forming the first Hierarchy; Dominations (*κυβέτηρες*), Virtues (*δυνάμεις*), and Powers (*ἐξουσίαι*), forming the second; Principalities (*ἀρχαί*), Archangels and Angels, forming the third. This system was deduced, in the main, from St Paul's words in *Ephes.* i. 21 and *Colos.* i. 16. First formulated in the treatise *περὶ τῆς οὐρανίας*

¹ See Hesiod, *Theogony* 78.

² Tottel's *Miscellany*, 1557, ed. Arber, p. 100.

ιεραρχίας, which was long attributed, though falsely, to Dionysius, the Areopagite, the notion had great influence in the Middle Ages; cf. Dante, *Paradiso*, XXVIII. 98—126. Allusions to it are frequent in Elizabethan writers. Works from which many illustrations of the system might be quoted are:—*Batman vppon Bartholome* (1582), Reginald Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft* (1584), Thomas Watson's *Eglogue* (1590), the *Faust-book* (1592), Spenser's *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie* (1596), Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, i. 28, and Heywood's *Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels* (1635), which deals with the subject at great length.

Milton accepted¹ the tradition and made it the basis of the whole angelical system of *Paradise Lost*.

Each of the Orders possessed some special quality. The Seraphim were the "burning" lustrous beings; cf. Spenser, *Heavenly Beautie*:

"those eternall burning Seraphins,

Which from their faces dart out fierie light."

This conception, due probably to the false derivation of *Seraphim* from a root signifying 'to burn,' determines Milton's choice of epithets for the Order of the Hierarchies. See *Seraphim* in the *Glossary*.

The Cherubim had a wondrous power of vision: hence their main duty in *Paradise Lost* is to keep watch. See IV. 778, note. And through this power of vision they enjoyed in a peculiar degree the *Visio Beatifica* or faculty of "contemplating" the Deity. In the words of the treatise *περὶ τῆς ιεραρχίας* they were distinguished διὰ τὸ θεωρητικὸν αὐτῶν καὶ θεωρητικόν. And this notion is the key to that line (54) in *Il Penseroso*, the point of which has been so much misunderstood—"The Cherub Contemplation."

The archangels were, as their name implied, the "chief messengers" of the Almighty and the intermediaries between Him and Man. Cf. Reginald Scot, "As for archangels, they are sent onlie about great and secret matters"; and Heywood, "The Archangels are Embassadors, great matters to declare." Hence Milton makes Raphael in book V. and Michael in books XI., XII.—each one of the seven archangels referred to in III. 648—653, the bearers of messages and charges from the Almighty to Adam.

¹ Thus in *Church Government* he says, "the angels themselves ..are distinguished into their celestial principedoms and satrapies," *P. W.* II. 442. He several times uses the special terms "Orders" and "Hierarchies"—cf. *P. L.* I. 737, v. 587, 591, VII. 192; while the titles "Seraphim," "Thrones," "Dominations," "Virtues" etc. occur constantly.

One other point in which Milton follows mediæval tradition with regard to the Heavenly beings may be noticed. Descriptions like those in book III., ll. 625—628 and 636—642, are purely traditional. We must compare them with the presentment of angels in works of early Christian art. Poets and painters alike drew upon religious tradition and expressed it by certain conventional details. And this presentment of angelic beings contained a considerable element of symbolism. In *Batman vppon Bartholome* II. iii., iv., there is a long discourse on the attributes which painters assign to angels and on their symbolical significance. The following brief extracts from it illustrate Milton's pictures of Uriel (III. 625—628) and the "stripling Cherub" (III. 636—642): "When Angells are paynted with long lockes and crispe haire, thereby is understoode their cleane affections and ordinate thoughts. For the hayre of the head betokeneth thoughts and affections that doe spring out of the roote of thought and minde...And they be painted beardless: for to take consideration and heede, that they passe never the state of youth, neyther waxe feeble in vertues, neither faile for age...Truely they be paynted feathered and winged...[as a sign that] they be lifted up in effect and knowledge, and rauished to the innermost contemplation of the loue of God."

D.

PARADISE LOST VIII, 82—86.

In his note on this passage Professor Masson says: "The fundamental notion of the ancient astronomers was that all the motions of the heavenly bodies were in circles, the strictly circular motion being the most perfect kind.... From very remote antiquity, however, it had been perceived that the simple circular motion of eight or even ten spheres round the Earth, with whatever variety of rates and times among themselves, would not account for all the observed phenomena of the heavens,—would not account, for example, for the fact that the motion of the Sun is faster or slower according to the season (acceleration and retardation), or for the fact that the motions of the planets are sometimes direct, or in the order of the signs of the Zodiac, and sometimes retrograde (progression and regression). To remedy this defect, 'to

save these appearances,³ two devices had been introduced, that of the *Eccentric* and that of the *Epicycle*.

Let it be supposed that, while the Earth is the centre of the Primum Mobile [i.e. the outermost of the spheres] and consequently of the whole mundane system, the inclosed planetary spheres, or at all events that of the Sun, need not be strictly *concentric*, i.e. need not strictly have this centre, but may be *eccentric*, i.e. may revolve round a point somewhat to the side of the Earth; then, as the Earth would sometimes be nearer to the moving body. and sometimes farther off, the acceleration or retardation of the motion would be sufficiently accounted for.

Again, let it be supposed that the body of a planet is not fixed strictly in its *cycle*, or the circumference of its wheeling sphere, but moves in an *epicycle*, or small circle revolving round a fixed point in that wheeling circumference; then, according as the planet was in that part of its epicycle which is *beyond*, or in that part which is *within*, its cycle, its motion would for the time be progressive, i.e. *with* its cycle, or retrograde, i.e. *against* its cycle. Actually, by a complicated use of these two devices,...the Ptolemaic astronomers had contrived, with a tolerable approach to completeness, to account for all the phenomena of the solar and planetary motions, but only by such a dizzying intricacy of conceived wheels within wheels ('*centric and eccentric*') and wheels upon wheels ('*cycle and epicycle*') as Milton describes."

There is a great deal about these theories of the *Eccentric* and *Epicycle* in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 2. 2. 111, the chapter entitled "a Digression of the Ayre"; see especially pp. 381, 382, 384 in the ninth edition (1800). Like Milton, he ridicules the too-ingenuous speculations of astronomers, who, "to solve all appearances and objections, have invented new hypotheses, and fabricated new systems of the World....The World is tossed in a blanket amongst them, they hoyst the Earth up and down like a ball, make it stand and go at their pleasures" (pp. 388, 389).

GLOSSARY.

MILTON'S diction is essentially Elizabethan: the diction of the Authorised Version (1611) of the Bible and of Shakespeare. Hence, though *Paradise Lost* was not published till 1667, its language is best illustrated by quotations from the works of Elizabethan writers.

A marked feature of Milton's diction, as of his style, is his classical bias. He employs many words in their classical sense, just as he employs many classical idioms (cf. VII. 142, 503) and figures of speech. This classicism of diction is still more conspicuous in his prose, in which he introduces numbers of long, sonorous words derived from the Latin. Sometimes he invents such words. These books of *Paradise Lost* contain numerous examples of his classical diction.

(Glossary: cf. *admire, decency, error, frequent, hyaline, innumerable, omnious, officious, pomp, purple, virtue*.)

Book VII.: cf. *converse, erroneous, absolve, fraud, involve, humble, implicit, gem, vicissitude, peculiar, invest, dividual, sublime, pennon, rare, sinuous, front*; see 9, 20, 94, 143, 277, 322, 323, 325, 351, 368, 372, 382, 421, 441, 461, 481, 483, 509—with the *Notes* on these lines.

Book VIII.: cf. *argue, this habitable, inoffensive, remiss, numbers, unity, adhere, divinely, conscience, contract, scale, genial*; see 21, 157, 164, 387, 421, 425, 498, 500, 502, 560, 591, 598—with the *Notes* on these lines.

The same classical tendency is sometimes shown in Milton's accentuation of words; see *process* in this *Glossary*, and cf. *crystalline* (VII. 271).

Another interesting feature is his partiality for Italianised forms. This is more conspicuous in his verse, perhaps because he felt so strongly, and wished his readers to be reminded of, the spell and fascination of the great Italian epics. By his own statement, he had

studied Italian much before he went to Italy. His letters and prose-works reveal his love of it (I do not remember any interesting reference in his works to French literature); and several short poems testify to his very considerable mastery of the language. Instances of his leaning towards Italian are—*ammiral* (I. 294), *harald* (I. 752), *Soldan* (I. 764); *sdein* (IV. 50), *serenate* (IV. 769); *souvan* (VII. 79, VIII. 339), and perhaps *adorn* (VIII. 576); *asurn* (*Comus*, 893).

Abbreviations:—

A. S. = Anglo-Saxon, i.e. English down to about the Conquest.

Middle E. = Middle English, i.e. English from about the Conquest to about 1500.

Elizabethan E. = the English of Shakespeare and his contemporaries (down to about 1650).

O. F. = Old French, i.e. till about 1600. F. = modern French.

Germ. = modern German. Gk. = Greek.

Ital. = modern Italian. Lat. = Latin.

The dates, of course, are only approximate: such divisions must be more or less arbitrary and open to criticism.

abyss, VII. 211, 234; Lat. *abyssus*, from Gk. *ἄβυσσος*, 'bottomless,' *ā-*, 'not' + *πυσός*, 'bottom, depth.' Shakespeare always uses the older form *abysm*, from F. *abisme*; cf. *The Tempest*, I. 2, 50, "In the dark backward and abysm of time."

admire, VIII. 25, 75, 'wonder' = Lat. *admirari*. Cf. II. 677, "The undaunted fiend what this might be admired." So **admiration** = 'wonder, astonishment,' III. 271, VII. 52; cf. *Revelation* xvii. 6, "and when I saw her, I wondered with great admiration" This sense 'wonder' is common in Elizabethan writers.

amiable, VIII. 484, 'lovely, pleasing'; cf. IV. 250 and *Psalms* lxxxiv. 1, "How amiable are thy dwellings" (*Prayer-Book*) From Lat. *amicabilis*, 'friendly'; not from Lat. *amabilis*, 'loveable.'

barricado, VIII. 241, 'fortify.' The noun *barricado* is from Spanish *harricada*, literally 'a rampart formed by barrels' (Span. *barrica* = 'barrel'), and so 'any rampart, fortification.' This form in *-ado* is older than that in *-ade* from F. *barricade*. Cf. *All's Well That Ends Well*, I. 1. 124, "how may we barricado it against him?" i.e. fortify.

Behemoth, VII. 471, "This word is the Heb. plural of *behémâh*, and signifies 'beasts,' but in *Job* xl. 15—24 some large animal, e.g. the

hippopotamus, is evidently intended"—(*Cambridge Companion to the Bible*). M. meant the elephant.

brinded, VII. 466, 'striped, streaked'; cf. *Comus*, 443, "the brinded lioness." An older form than *brindled*, it means literally 'marked as with a brand,' and generally indicates stripes of dark colour on the tawny coat of an animal. See *Macbeth*, IV. I. 1, "the brinded cat."

caravan, VII. 428. Properly (1) a company of merchants or pilgrims travelling together, as a protection against robbers, in the East. Hence (2) any 'company, troop'; as here and in *F. R.* I. 323, "men who pass in troop or caravan." Then (3) 'a covered waggon'; cf. the abbreviation *van*, like *bus* for *omnibus*. Persian *kārwān*, 'escort.'

Cherubim; the correct form = Heb. *Kherūbhīm*, the plural of *Kherūbh*. The oldest forms in English, as still in French, were *Cherubin*, singular, and *Cherubins*, plural. Cf. Coverdale, "Thou God of Israel, which dwellest upon Cherubin," *Isaiah* xxxvii. 16; and Wyclif, "Two Goldun Cherubyns," *Exodus* xxv. 18. Later, as in the Bible of 1611, *Cherub*, singular, and *Cherubims*, plural, were used, as being closer to the Hebrew. M. wrote **Cherube** for singular (a still nearer approach in sound than 'Cherub' to the *ū* of the Heb. *Kherūbh*), and the true plural **Cherubim** (adopted in the Revised Version of the Bible). *Kherūbh* is said to come from the Babylonian word for the figure of the winged bull which stood at the door of a house to keep off evil spirits. The Jews probably owed it to the Phœnicians.

decency, VIII. 601; Lat. *decentia*, 'comeliness.' The adj. *decent* was often used.—Lat. *decens*, 'comely, becoming'; cf. III. 644, "his decent steps." So *decently* = 'in a becoming manner'; cf. 1 *Corinthians* xiv. 40, "Let all things be done decently and in order." The word has rather deteriorated in sense: a general tendency of language.

embryon, VII. 277. M. used *embryo* for the noun (III. 474), *embryon* for the adj.; cf. II. 900 "embryon atoms." Gk. ἐμβρυον, from ἐν, 'within' + βρέειν, 'to teem with.'

error, VII. 302 = Lat. *error*, 'a wandering,' from *errare*, 'to wander.' Similarly in IV. 239 M. speaks of brooks flowing "with mazy *error* under pendent shades," i. e. winding about.

eyry, VII. 424, 'nest,' commonly of an eagle or hawk; also the 'brood' of young birds in the nest. Correctly written *aery*; from Low Lat. *area*, 'nest.'

fealty, VIII. 344, 'homage, loyal service'; from Lat. *fidelitas* through O. F. *fealte*. M. scans it as three syllables, *fealty* (III. 204, IX. 262); it

is a dissyllable in *Richard II.*, v. 2. 45, and *Cymbeline*, v. 4. 73, "Our fealty and Tenantius' right."

fledge, VII. 420; cf. III. 627. Minsheu's *Dictionary* (1617) has "fledge, or feathered." Cf. Holland's *Pliny* (1601), x. 9, "The young cuckoo being once fledge and readie to flie abroad." This adj. *fledge* (whence *fledge-ling*) is really older than the p. p. *fledged* which we use. Akin to *flee*, *fly*, *flight*.

fond, VIII. 195, 209, 'foolish'; its old meaning. Cf. *King Lear*, iv. 7. 60, "I am a very foolish fond old man." Hence **fondly** = 'foolishly,' VII. 152; cf. *Lycidas*, 56, "Ay me! I fondly dream." Originally *fond* was the p. p. of a Middle E. verb *fonnen*, 'to act like a fool,' from the noun *fon*, 'a fool.' The root is Scandinavian.

forgo, VIII. 497, 'leave, give up'; *for* is the intensive prefix seen in *forget*, *forgive*,—cf. Germ. *ver*. Often misspelt *forego*, in which *fore* is the A. S. preposition *fore* = 'before,' Germ. *vor*.

frame, VII. 273, VIII. 15, 'fabric, structure'; a favourite word with M. and with writers of the 18th century who were influenced by his style. Cf. Thomson, *Winter*, 'Nature's boundless frame.' It may be an echo of the Lucretian phrase *moles et machina mundi* (v. 96).

fret, VII. 597; cf. Shakespeare, *Lucrece* 1140, 1141:

"These means, as *frets* upon an instrument,
Shall tune our heart-strings to true languishment."

It is the word that we get in *fretted*, as in I. 717, "The roof was *fretted* gold"; from O. F. *frete*, 'an iron band' = Ital. *ferrata*, 'an iron grating.' See *Glossary* to bks. I. II.

frequent, VII. 504 = Lat. *frequens*, 'crowded, in throngs'; cf. I. 796, 797, "A thousand demi-gods...frequent and full." In *P. R.* I. 128, II. 130, "full frequency" = 'full assembly' (Lat. *frequentia*).

fume, VIII. 194, 'vanity, emptiness'; literally 'smoke,' Lat. *fumus*. Cf. the figurative use of 'smoke' in colloquial English, e.g. 'it all ended in smoke,' i.e. came to nothing. The notion is 'something light and empty as smoke.'

galaxy, VII. 579; Gk. *γαλαξίας* (i.e. *κύκλος*), 'Milky Way' (literally 'circle'); from *γάλα*, 'milk.' Cf. Tennyson, *The Lady of Shalott*:

"Like to some branch of stars we see
Hung in the golden Galaxy."

hyaline, VII. 619, 'the glassy sea'; Gk. *ύάλινος*, 'made of crystal or glass,' from *υαλος*, 'glass'; cf. Lat. *hyalinus*, 'glassy' (borrowed from Greek). No doubt, M. was thinking of *Revelation* iv. 6, where the Greek is *θάλασσα ύάλινη όμοία κρυστάλλω* = "a sea of glass like unto

crystal." Cf. Tennyson's *Juvenilia*, "Twin peaks shadow'd with pine slope to the dark hyaline," i.e. the ocean.

his. In Elizabethan E. the regular *neuter* possessive pronoun was *his*; cf. *Genesis* i. 12, "herb yielding seed after *his* kind," and iii. 15, "*it* shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise *his* heel." About 1600 *its* came into use, but slowly. Bacon has *its* rarely; the Bible of 1611 never; the nine instances in the 1st Folio (1623) of Shakespeare are probably corrupt, since in every extant work published during his lifetime the old idiom *his* is invariable...cf. *Julius Caesar* I. 2. 123, 124, "that same eye...did lose *his* lustre." Milton, as an Elizabethan in his diction, avoids *its*; either (1) by *personifying the noun*, thus in his prose abstract words like 'virtue,' 'truth,' are always followed by *her*; or (2) by retaining the old *neuter* use of *his*; cf. *Comus* 246—248:

"Sure *something* holy lodges in that breast,
And with these raptures moves the vocal air
To testify *his* hidden residence."

The only places in Milton's verse where *its* occurs are I. 254, IV. 813; and *Nativity Ode*, 106. I know but two instances of *its* in his prose—*Areopagitica* and *Church Government*, P. II. 94, 471.

influence; late Lat. *influentia*, literally 'a flowing in upon.' It was an astrological term applied to the power over the earth, men's characters, fortunes etc., which was supposed to descend from the celestial bodies. Cf. "planetary influence," *King Lear*, I. 2. 136, "skyeey influences," *Measure for Measure*, III. 1. 9. M. generally uses *influence* with reference to this astrological notion; cf. VII. 375, VIII. 513, and the *Nativity Ode* 71, "The *stars*...Bending one way their precious *influence*."

innumerable, VII. 455=Lat. *innumerosus*, 'numberless'; a poetic use. Cf. Tennyson, *The Princess*, v., "A lisping of the innumerable leaf." Thomson has it twice in *Spring*.

inure, VIII. 239, 'to accustom,' literally 'to bring into practice' (=ure). For the obsolete noun *ure*, derived through O. F. *eure* from Lat. *opera*, 'work,' cf. Bacon, *Essay* VI., "lest his hand should be out of ure," i.e. out of practice. Cf. 'manure.'

leviathan, VII. 412; then commonly identified with the whale, though the Hebrew *livyathan* "denotes any great sea or land monster, as the crocodile.....or some large serpent." Cf. *Psalms* lxxiv. 14, "Thou brakest the heads of leviathan in pieces," i.e. the crocodile, symbolising Egypt; and *Isaiah* xxvii. 1, "even leviathan that crooked

serpent." In *Psalm* civ. 26, "There go the ships: there is that leviathan." *leviathan* stands for any large sea-monster.

libbard, VII. 467; an Elizabethan form of *leopard*, so called because thought to be a cross-breed between a lion (*leo*) and a pard, i.e. panther (*pardus*). Cf. Spenser, *The Ruines of Time*, "Who of the Grecian Libbard now ought heares?" So in *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. 2. 551.

limber, VII. 476, 'flexible'; correctly written *limper*. and akin to *limp*. Cf. *The Winter's Tale* I. 2. 47, "You put me off [=baffle] with limber vows"; and Giles Fletcher, *Christ's Victorie in Heaven*, 57, "And oft the Sun would cleave the limber mould" (i.e. friable).

list, VIII. 75, 'wish, please'; commonly a present, but also used as a preterite by M. (II. 656, IV. 803). Shakepeare, who uses the present tense often, once has *listed*; cf. *Richard III*, III. 5. 84, "his savage heart . *listed* to make his prey." Akin to *lust*, which often meant 'pleasure,' as does Germ. *lust*; cf. *Psalm* xcii. 10, "Mine eye also shall see his lust of mine enemies" (*Prayer-Book*).

methought, VIII. 295, 355, cf. *methinks*. These are really *impersonal* constructions such as were much used in pre-Elizabethan English; their meaning is, 'it seems, or seemed, to me.' The pronoun is a dative, and the verb is not the ordinary verb 'to think'=A. S. *þencan*, but an obsolete impersonal verb 'to seem'=A. S. *þyncan*: thus *me-thinks*=A. S. *me þynceo*, 'it appears to me' These cognate verbs got confused through their similarity; the distinction between them as regards usage and sense is shown in *P. R.* II. 266, "*Ham* thought he by the brook of Cheith stood"='to him it seemed that' etc. Probably in *Hamlet*, v. 2. 63, the right reading is "think'st thee?"='does it seem to thee?', and in *Richard III*, III. 1. 63, "it thinks best"='it seems best.' Cf. the difference between their German cognates *denken*, 'to think,' used personally, and the impersonal *es dunkt*, 'it seems'; also the double use of Gk. *δοκέειν*. For the old impersonal constructions cf. Spenser, *Prothalamion* 60, "*Them seem'd* they never saw a sight so fayre."

minim, VII. 482, 'a tiny creature'; from Lat. *minimus*, 'very small.' Cf. *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, III. 2. 329, "you dwarf, you *minimus*" In music a *minim* is the shortest note.

mysterious, VIII. 599, 'with awe' such as befits a *mystery* like marriage; cf. *Ephesians* v. 32, "This is a great mystery"—said in allusion to marriage. *Mystery* (from Gk. *μυστήριον*, 'a secret rite') used in a religious sense means a truth specially revealed to men, or a spiritual rite of deep significance. Thus in the *Prayer-Book* it is applied to the Holy Communion in the Communion Service.

nice, VIII. 399; derived from Lat. *nescius*, 'ignorant,' *nice* meant first (1) 'foolish,' then (2) 'fastidious, dainty,' i.e. foolish in a particular way. So here and in *P. R.* IV. 157, "Nothing will please the *difficult* and *nice*," i.e. people hard to satisfy (*difficiles*, as the French say). Note that few words improve in sense as *nice* has.

obvious, VIII. 504; generally used by M. in one of the senses of Lat. *obvius*. Here = 'advancing to meet' i.e. 'forward'; in VI. 69, "obvious hill," its sense is 'lying in the way.'

officious, VIII. 99; used = Lat. *officiosus*, 'obliging, ready to serve by doing *officia*, i.e. kind acts.' Cf. *P. R.* II. 302, where Satan, coming back after his first repulse, says "officious I return," i.e. eager to serve Christ. Now *officious* implies 'meddlesome, too eager to help.'

pitch, VIII. 198. A term in falconry for the height to which a hawk soars. Cf. *Richard II.* I. 1. 109, "How *high a pitch* his resolution soars!" M. perhaps refers to this use; cf. "lower *flight*," 199.

pomp; used like Gk. *πομπή*, Lat. *pompa*, in the two kindred senses 'solemn procession' (VII. 564), and 'train, retinue' (VIII. 61). Cf. *King John*, III. 1. 304, "shall braying trumpets...be measure to our pomp?" i.e. procession. Bullokar's *Expositor*, an old (1616) English dictionary, has "*Pompe*...a solemn *traine*."

process, VII. 178. Many words now accented on the first syllable were in Elizabethan E. accented on the second, i.e. they retained the French accent, which (roughly speaking) was that of the original Latin words. By "accent" one means the stress laid by the voice on any syllable in pronouncing it. Thus we say *process*, but Milton accented it *proceſs*; cf. F. *proceſs*, Lat. *processus*. So Shakespeare sometimes accents *acceſs*, *commēce*, *edict*, while we always put the accent forward in each case, (*deceſs*, *commerce*, etc.). Cf. *aspect* (VII. 379, VIII. 336).

purple, VII. 30; cf. *Lycidas*, 141, "And purple all the ground with vernal flowers," i.e. make it brilliant. Here 'make red' is the sense, *purple* (like Lat. *purpureus*) being often applied in poetry to rosy hues. Cf. Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis*, 1, 2:

"Even as the *sun* with *purple-colour'd* face

Had ta'en his last leave of the weeping *morn*."

purpose, VIII. 337; in sense and origin = F. *propos*, 'conversation'; cf. IV. 337, 338:

"Nor gentle *purpose* nor endearing smiles

Wanted."

So the verb *propose* = 'talk' in Shakespeare, e.g. in *Much Ado About Nothing*, III. 1. 2, 3, "There shalt thou find my cousin...proposing

with the prince." Spenser often has *purpose* = 'discourse'; cf. *The Faerie Queene*, I. 12, 13, "they lowly sitt, and fitting purpose frame."

quire, VII. 254; the older form of *choir*; each from Lat. *chorus*. Cf. the *Prayer-Book*, "In quires and places where they sing." *Quire* was one of the Latin words introduced through Christianity into A. S.

rampant, VII. 466, 'rearing on its hind legs'; cf. the heraldic phrase "lion rampant." So in 2 *Henry VI.* v. 1. 203, "The rampant bear chain'd to the ragged staff." The verb *ramp* (= *romp*, from F. *rampier*, 'to climb') also meant 'to spring, leap,' and 'to rage'—cf. "a ramping and a roaring lion," *Psalm* xxii. 13, *Prayer-Book*.

rapt, VII. 23, 'caught up'; cf. III. 522, "Rapt in a chariot drawn by fiery steeds." It should be written *rapped*, being the p. p. of an old verb *rap*, 'to seize'; cf. *Cymbeline*, I. 6. 51, "what ..raps you?" i.e. excites you? The form *rapt* comes through confusion (due to similarity of sound and sense) with Lat. *raptus*, the p. p. of *rapere*, 'to seize.'

relation, VIII. 247, 'story, account'; cf. F. *relation* and the verb *relate*. Cf. *The Winter's Tale*, v. 2. 92, "at the relation of the queen's death"; and *Comus*, 617.

scull, VII. 402; the same word as *shoal* and *school*; cf. the nautical expression 'a school of fish.' *Scull* is used specially of fish; cf. Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, v. 5. 22, "And there they fly or die, like scaled sculls." On some coasts (e.g. the south-eastern) of England herring-shoals are still called *sculls*. In the New Forest dialect *scull* is used contemptuously for 'a set of low people.'

Seraph, VII. 113, 198; from a Hebrew root 'to exalt': *Seraphim* = 'the exalted ones.' Then, however, *Seraph* was supposed to come from a root 'to burn'; cf. "fiery Seraphim," II. 512, "*brightest Seraphim*," III. 381.

several, VII. 240, VIII. 131; in origin and sense = 'separate,' Lat. *separabilis*. Cf. *Matthew* xxv. 15, "he gave...to every man according to his several ability." So *severally* = 'separately' or 'differently'; cf. 1 *Corinthians* xii. 11, "dividing to every man severally."

sound, VII. 399, 'strait, narrow strip of water.' Cf. *Comus*, 115, "The sounds and seas, with all their finny drove" (i.e. shoals of fish). Akin to *swim*, because A. S. *sund* meant literally 'a strait of the sea that could be swum across.'

sovrän, VII. 79, VIII. 239; spelt thus always in *P. L.*; cf. Ital. *sovranö*. The common form *sovereign* = O. F. *soverain*, later *souverain*. From Lat. *superanus*, 'chief,' formed from *super*, 'above.'

spangle, VII. 384, 'to ornament as with spangles.' *Spangle* was

used of small flashing ornaments like the little circles of silver in 'tinsel.' Elizabethan writers often apply it to the stars; cf. *The Taming of the Shrew*, IV. 5. 31, "What stars do spangle heaven with such beauty?"

summed, VII. 421; a term in falconry, applied to a hawk with full-grown feathers, i.e. that has the *sum* or full complement of plumage. Cf. *P. R.* I. 14, "with prosperous *wing full summed*"; and Drayton's *Polyolbion*, Song 11, "The muse from Cambria comes with *pinions summed* and sound." I suspect that M. uses the word here in the sense 'preen,' i.e. arrange their plumage. He seldom employs terms drawn from sport (of which he probably knew little), whereas in Shakespeare such terms occur constantly and accurately.

sung, VII. 182, VIII. 519. In Elizabethan E. this incorrect form for the past tense is much used. Shakespeare has *sang* only once (*Sonnet* 73), and then for the rhyme. In M. *sang* occurs only three times, III. 383, VII. 192, *Lycidas* 186; and in each case he may have used the form for some special consideration of sound. But I think that the three instances are due to mere accident; contrast "so *sang*," VII. 192, with "so *sung*," VII. 573. Similarly he has **rung** (VII. 562, 633) as the past tense of *ring*, except in the *Nativity Ode*, 158, where the rhyme (with *chang*) requires *rang*. Cf. too **sprung** (VII. 58, VIII. 46).

suspense, VII. 99. A noticeable point in Elizabethan English is the tendency to make the past participles of verbs of Latin origin conform with the Latin forms. This is the case especially with verbs of which the Latin originals belong to the 1st and 3rd conjugations. Thus Shakespeare and Milton have many participles like 'create' (*creatus*), 'consecrate' (*consecratus*), 'incorporate,' 'dedicate,' where the termination *-ate*, in modern English *-ated*, = Lat. *-atus*, the passive participial termination of the 1st conjugation. Cf. **satiated**, VII. 282.

So with the Latin 3rd conjugation; Latinised participles such as 'abstract' (*abstractus*), VIII. 462, 'addict' (*addictus*), 'pollute' (*pollutus*), 'submit' (*submitus*), VIII. 316, with many others, are to be found in Shakespeare or Milton. Further, on the analogy of these, participles not from the Latin are abbreviated; e.g. Milton (I. 193) has '*uplift*' = '*uplifted*,' though *lift* is of Scandinavian origin.

uncouth, VIII. 230; A. S. *uncuð*, 'unknown'—from *un*, 'not,' + *cuð* the p. p. of *cunnan*, 'to know.' In M. *uncouth* almost always means 'strange, unfamiliar,' with the implied notion 'unpleasant' or 'alarming'; cf. V. 98, VI. 361. So in *Titus Andronicus*, II. 3. 211, "I am surprised with an *uncouth* fear," and *As You Like It*, II. 6. 6, "this *uncouth* forest."

unnumbered, VII. 432. Elizabethan writers constantly treat the termination *-ed*, which belongs to the passive participle, as equal to the adjectival ending *-able*; especially with words which have the negative prefix *un-*, and the sense 'not to be.' Cf. *unenvied*, 'not to be envied' = *unenviable*, II. 23; *unremoved*, 'not to be moved' = *immoveable*, IV. 987; *untamed* = 'untamable,' II. 337. So *unvalued* = 'invaluable,' *unavoided* = 'inevitable,' *Richard III.* I. 4. 27, IV. 4. 217. The use of the participial and adjectival endings were less regular then.

virtue, VII. 236, VIII. 95, 'efficacy, power'; a frequent Elizabethan use. Cf. *Luke* vi. 19, "there went virtue out of him, and healed them all," and viii. 46, "I perceive that virtue is gone out of me." So *virtual* (XI. 338) and *virtuous* (III. 608) = 'full of efficacy.' Lat. *virtus*, 'worth, manly excellence' (Lat. *vir*, 'man').

vouchsafe, VII. 80, VIII. 8. Spelt *voutsafe* in the original editions, and perhaps we ought to keep the form, as some editors do. M. may have wished to avoid the awkward sound *ch* before *s*, just as in proper names he avoids *sh*, using e.g. 'Silo' for 'Shilo,' 'Baran' for 'Bashan.' (See I. 398, III. 536, notes.)

won, VII. 457, 'dwell'; cf. Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, II. 7. 49, "The fairest wight that wonneth under skie." From A. S. *wunian*, which meant (1) 'to dwell,' (2) 'to be accustomed'; now obsolete except in the second sense and in the past participle *wont* or *wonted*. Similarly the cognate Germ. *wohnen* = (1) 'to dwell,' (2) 'to be wont.'